Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-95-085
Wednesday
3 May 1995

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FBIS-EEU-95-085 *3 May 1995*

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Berisha Tells Klestil Kosovo 'Extremely Tense'

AU0305115595 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 2 May 95

[Report by Bujar Muharremi and Vjollca Vokshi]

[FBIS Translated Text] Austrian President Thomas Klestil arrived today for an official visit to Albania at the invitation of Albanian President Sali Berisha. President Klestil was welcomed at Rinas Airport by President Sali Berisha.

Mr. President, I promised to come to Albania, and here I am, Klestil told Berisha upon meeting him.

Klestil is accompanied by Foreign Minister Alois Mock and high-ranking Austrian officials and businessmen.

Asked by Albanian television, Austrian President Klestil declared:

[Begin Klestil recording in German fading into Albanian translation] We are following with great attention and admiration the efforts Albania is making to join the European institutions as soon as possible. Austria expresses its will and readiness to strengthen the traditional ties between our two countries. [end recording]

The Albanian and Austrian national anthems were then played.

Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi and People's Assembly deputy chairmen Tomorr Malasi and Shaqir Vukaj welcomed the honorable Austrian guest. Members of the government, high-ranking officials, and diplomats of the Austrian Embassy in Tirana were also at the airport.

[Vokshi] The Austrian delegation's first stop was the Presidency. Official talks started between Presidents Berisha and Klestil at 1030 this morning, after they had first had a private talk.

Mr. President, I am very happy to receive you, Minister Mock, and the delegation accompanying you, Berisha told Austrian President Klestil. I am convinced that this visit marks an historic event in the friendship and ancient and new cooperation that links our two peoples and countries. I am happy that the political relations and bilateral cooperation between Albania and Austria are very good, Berisha went on to say.

I would like to take the opportunity to express my deep gratitude to you, the Austrian Government, and Austrian institutions and citizens for the valuable and noble aid you have granted Albania in all fields, the highest per capita that Austria has given to any of the eastern European countries, Berisha said.

After the 22 March elections, our major goals were to take Albania out of isolation and the neither east nor west crossroads at which the communist dictatorship placed it, as well as to establish a law-governed state and the market economy and integrate Albania into Europe, goals that will determine the fate of our country.

After overall and unceasing efforts, the Albania of 1995 looks very different. It has substituted the old laws with laws of a European standard and has set up new institutions, has increased macroeconomic stability, and has committed to a massive privatization of the economy. All these achievements allow us to detach ourselves from the poverty we inherited and mark important steps in establishing democracy and the country's integration into Europe, Berisha said.

We attach great importance to preventing the conflict in the Balkan region and establishing relations of good neighborliness. However, the situation in Kosova remains extremely tense. I think that Kosova constitutes one of the most complicated and important issues of the crisis in our region and ignoring this issue carries great dangers in itself, the President's Press and Information Office cites Berisha as saying.

We have favored and still favor friendly relations with Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and are interested in stability in this republic. Of course, its stability depends on Albanian-Macedonian understanding and harmony and respect for the freedoms and human and national rights of Albanians living there. We will help this understanding. Our relations with Greece are developing positively, Berisha concluded.

Austria follows political and economic developments in Albania with great interest, President Klestil said. We are impressed by the colossal achievements you have scored in a short time. Austria supports Albania both bilaterally and through European and international structures, Klestil said.

We are happy that the Council of Europe discovered that Albania fulfills the criteria for membership in this organization. As a new member of the EU, Austria will be the advocate of the integration of East and Central European neighboring countries, of course including Albania as well, Klestil continued. It also supports Albania's membership in the Central Europe Initiative.

President Klestil supported President Berisha's assessments regarding the region of the Balkans and the problem of Kosova and said he is committed to supporting its just solution. Klestil showed appreciation for Albania's observing the embargo which, however, as he stated, has cost it dearly.

The Austrian president expressed his desire to expand economic relations between the two countries in order to complete the general legal framework to further promote bilateral economic cooperation and Austrian investments in Albania.

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Klestil invited President Berisha to pay a return visit to Vienna, in order to ensure the continuity of the Albanian-Austrian high-level dialogue.

A meeting between Albanian and Austrian Foreign Ministers Alfred Serreqi and Alois Mock was held in one of the presidency halls.

During the talk, Mr. Serreqi praised the very good bilateral relations between Albania and Austria over the past three years. Serreqi then gave a briefing on the economic and political reform in Albania.

For his part, Mock praised the achievements in Albania and confirmed Austria's support for Albania's integration into Europe.

At the meeting, they spoke about the situation in the Republic of Kosova, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and the recent improvement in Albanian-Greek relations.

Klestil Warns of 'Powder Keg'

AU0205190695 Vienna ORF TELETEXT in German 1741 GMT 2 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Klestil paid a one-day official visit to Albania today.

In an address to the Albanian parliament, he issued a warning about the "explosion of the Kosovo powder keg" and called for the rapid commencement of negotiations. In addition, he said that he hopes talks will soon start with the EU on the development of relations.

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Russian Official Suggests 'Treaty Alliance'

AU0305100795 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] On 3 May, National Assembly Chairman Blagovest Sendov held a news conference on the beginning of the New National Assembly session. [passage omitted]

Speaking about his recent visit to Russia, Blagovest Sendov mentioned his meeting with Vladimir Lukin [chairman of the Duma's International Affairs Committee], during which the NATO issue was discussed. Lukin pointed out that Russia does not object to Bulgaria's integration in the Western European Union. According to Mr. Lukin, membership in NATO would not guarantee Bulgaria's security vis-a-vis Turkey, from where the main problems for Bulgaria's security could come. NATO has proved incapable of resolving local conflicts. Only participation in a collective security scheme could guarantee Bulgaria's security.

Personally, Mr. Lukin supports signing a treaty alliance between Bulgaria and Russia. However, he understands that this would not be acceptable to Bulgaria. According to Lukin, Russia was prepared to offer security guarantees to all Balkan states.

FRY Prime Minister Views Bilateral Relations

AU0205153495 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 26 Apr 95 p 6

[Interview with FRY Prime Minister Radoje Kontic by Plamen Kulinski; place and date not given: "Sanctions Have Negatively Affected Cooperation Between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Kulinski] Mr. Kontic, how do you assess the present state of relations between Bulgaria and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY]? Has there been any progress since your visit to Bulgaria at the end of 1993?

[Kontic] Relations between the FRY and Bulgaria are good and friendly They are developing according to the tradition of good-neighborliness and mutual interest.

The FRY gives priority to developing good relations with all neighbors as a matter of principle. In this context, strengthening comprehensive cooperation with Bulgaria has a priority for us. We are interested in developing this cooperation not only on a bilateral basis but also through new forms of multilateral cooperation. I am happy to note that the Bulgarian side demonstrated its readiness for such a development.

There is both continuity and progress in FRY-Bulgarian relations, which strengthened after my visit in Sofia. Nevertheless, the level of comprehensive cooperation we have reached does not correspond to our desire and goals. The reasons must be sought first of all in the international sanctions against Yugoslavia. The sanctions gravely affect not only our economy but also Bulgaria's, and have serious and negative consequences for our cooperation. The fact that those sanctions continue to apply jeopardizes the economic development, process of democratization, and stability in the entire region.

This is precisely why we assess so highly the initiative of Bulgaria and other Black Sea countries on lifting the international blockade against our state. Broad international circles are increasingly grasping the absurd character and effect of the sanctions. This prompts us to be optimistic about the prospect of quickly lifting them. In addition to being a just solution, this would also have exceptional importance for the development of our two countries and relations between them.

[Kulinski] Do you see any problems that hinder the development of relations between the FRY and Bulgaria, except for the sanctions?

[Kontic] By lifting the sanctions against the FRY, serious prerequisites for dynamically developing comprehensive relations and cooperation between our countries would be created. Except for the sanctions there is no other serious problem that hinders the development of relations. On the contrary, prospects are evident in all areas, and especially in the sphere of the economy. [passage omitted]

[Kulinski] In recent years the complaints of the Bulgarian population in the Western Outlands have increased. There have been complaints that the Serbs are doing everything possible to assimilate this population and erase all Bulgarian elements in the region. Do you accept such accusations?

[Kontic] Such accusations are unacceptable, and I am not sure that they come first of all from representatives of the Bulgarian national minority. There is no problem with this minority in the FRY. It enjoys all the rights guaranteed by our constitution and laws. [passage omitted]

The participation of the Bulgarian minority in the country's political life does not even correspond to their number. In Dimitrovgrad Municipality (one of the two municipalities where the Bulgarian minority is actually a majority), the Bulgarians are 52.5 percent of the population; 22.2 percent are Serbs; 22.4 percent, Yugoslavs; and 2.6 percent, others. Some 97 percent of the councillors in the Municipal Assembly are Bulgarians. The chairman of the municipal authority, the secretary and chairman of the Executive Council, and the chairman of the court are Bulgarians. [passage omitted]

At the same time, we are witnessing efforts by certain circles in Bulgaria to assert this issue as a problem in Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations. We have also been surprised by certain efforts to internationalize the problem by publishing accusations regarding an ostensible threat

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for the Bulgarian minority in Yugoslavia. Naturally, we are concerned with this. No attempt to utilize minorities for specific political goals is in the interest of the specific minority or of relations between states. [passage omitted]

[Kulinski] It has been said that the real reason behind Belgrade's refusal to recognize Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] is the hope that one day it again will join Yugoslavia. Is this claim justified in any way?

[Kontic] There is absolutely no justification for such a claim. However, recognizing FYROM as a newly created state depends on first resolving the results that emerged as a result of its forced separation [nasilstveno ottsepvane]. Let me repeat what I said already—the FRY has no territorial claims toward the FYROM. On the contrary, the FRY is interested in normalizing relations with the FYROM. However, in order to achieve this, it is necessary to implement certain conditions and prerequisites, such as recognizing the international judicial status of the FRY and resolving the dispute with Greece in a manner acceptable to both countries. [passage omitted]

[Kulinski] How do you view the idea of Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev's holding a Balkan summit meeting?

[Kontic] In principle the FRY supports every initiative aimed at developing cooperation, strengthening peace and stability, and creating conditions of democratization and prosperity in the region. It is in this context that we view the idea of Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev.

As the initiator of the all-Balkan cooperation, the beginning of which was marked in February 1988 in Belgrade, the FRY insists on restoring this cooperation, and believes that, very rapidly, conditions will be created for organizing meetings at all levels, including summit meetings. We think that such a meeting should determine the platform of future relations in the Balkans, so that the Balkans become a region of lasting peace, stability, and security.

[Kulinski] How do you see the future of the Balkans?

[Kontic] Many facts indicate that the Balkans will face many challenges and will have to travel a long and unpredictable road in order to reach the supreme goal: becoming a region of peace and security, and feeling an integral part of Europe.

I see the Balkan future first of all through the prism of a dynamic economic, cultural, and civilized development under conditions of security. This is a significant prerequisite for strengthening comprehensive cooperation among all Balkan states.

We see multilateral Balkan cooperation as one of the main roads for participating in broader European integration processes, and as the contribution of the region's countries to building new relations in Europe. It is precisely this form of cooperation that reveals prospects in front of the Balkan countries—to resolve the fate of the region in which they are living and, simultaneously, to thwart the interference and influence of external factors on relations among the region's countries.

Efforts to resolve the security issues in the region without the participation of all Balkan states are unacceptable. Peace and stability in the Balkans are an integral part of the European security system. Within this framework, Europe and the international community must view their interests from the point of view of the geostrategic situation of the Balkans and their natural, economic, and—especially—human potential.

Zhelev, Hogg Discuss NATO Membership

AU0205173895 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 2 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] UK Minister of State Douglas Hogg is visiting Bulgaria. Today he met, in succession, with Deputy Prime Minister Kiril Tsochev, Prime Minister Zhan Videnov, and President Zhelyu Zhelev.

The guest predominantly discussed with the representatives of the executive bilateral trade relations and the progress of the economic reforms in Bulgaria.

Prime Minister Videnov briefed him on the great importance the government attributes to the privatization of industry and to bringing Bulgarian legislation into line with that of the EU.

Mr. Hogg stressed the importance of market reforms for the influx of UK investment to Bulgaria.

Foreign polict topics were discussed during the meeting with President Zhelev, as well as his forthcoming visit to the UK. The president stressed the stable principles of Bulgarian foreign policy, which is aimed at Europe and is playing a balancing role in the Balkans.

The prospects for Bulgaria's admission to NATO were also discussed. The president pointed out that on this issue Bulgaria was conducting a totally independent policy.

Mr. Hogg told journalists that it is impossible to say when NATO will make a decision on its expansion and that this depends directly on changing relations between NATO and Russia.

Council Agrees To Index Public-Sector Wages

AU0305074595 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 27 Apr 95 p 4

[Article by Krasimira Georgieva: Cabinet Proposes 8-Percent Wage Increase for First Quarter"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The social partners in the National Council for Trilateral Cooperation [NCTC] yesterday agreed that the salaries of 550,000 employees in the public sector will be indexed every three months in relation to the actual inflation figure.

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After a one-month break in negotiations, the government made a specific offer that nullified the earlier proposal that medical staff and teachers should receive more money than other state employees. The offer provides for wages and salaries to be indexed by 70 percent of the inflation rate recorded in the first and second quarters of 1995, and by 85 percent for the remaining two quarters. This means that wages financed from the budget will be increased by 8 percent for the January-March period. In addition to the 41.6 billion leva provided in the budget, a further 360 million leva will be needed to guarantee all compensation payments, Deputy Prime Minister Doncho Konakchiev announced. Today he is to inform the government about the agreements reached by the NCTC.

In their most recent proposals, the trade unions wanted wages to be compensated by 80 percent of the inflation figure in the first half of 1995 and by 85 percent in the second half. The various percentage figures will be discussed by the NCTC's Income and Living Standards Commission before parliament finally adopts the budget.

At yesterday's meeting the partners decided that the changes to the Labor Code relating to civilian labor contracts and to people working after reaching pensionable age will be first clarified at the expert level and then discussed by the NCTC.

Minister Expects Profits From Defense Industry

AU0205184895 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 27 Apr 95 p 15

[Article by Pavlin Peev: "Military Plants Make Profits of $420 Million"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Industry Minister Kliment Vuchev yesterday announced that the state will earn approximately $420 million this year from the export of military products. Vuchev added that last year the military-industrial complex contributed $210 million, but in the best years it brings $900 million dollars into Bulgaria.

According to Vuchev, the special plants got into financial difficulties because of credits advanced for war emergency reserves in 1988 and 1990. Only 1 billion leva of the military-industrial complex's debts were cleared by the issue of bad debt bonds. Vuchev explained that the chief of the military plant in Sopot was dismissed following the disappearance of $1.1 million.

Vuchev admitted that the complex also has to repay millions of dollars to Bulgarleasing for equipment, but did not specify the amount owed. At the moment, he said, Bulgarleasing is suing the Industry Ministry for the unpaid dollars. At the same time, our domestic producers are waiting to collect about $28 million for weapons supplied to the countries of the former USSR. Vuchev said that Iraq owes us about $1 billion, but the embargo prevents us from receiving this money from Baghdad.

However, despite the current poor business climate, experts claim that defense industry output is expected to grow by 1.5 percent this year. About 3 billion leva from the defense budget will be spent on military plants. Vuchev said that his ministry is negotiating with the commercial banks on rescheduling the military plants' debts. According to Vuchev, the Ministry of Industry is prepared to transfer property to the banks in return for canceling the state-owned companies' debts. The ministry is thinking of forming a joint stock company with Balkanbank and the Record Plant in Plovdiv, Vuchev said, adding that the bank may take up to 65 percent of the new company's shares.

Pavlov on Military Budget, Eurointegration

AU0205140195 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 2 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Tension between the institutions [president and cabinet] does not affect the Army, and the so-called war between them is no war at all and will not influence the Army structures, Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov said at a news conference in Sliven. He added: The 1995 military budget will suffice for wages and food and for resolving certain everyday problems. In addition, combat and technical training will start again.

The experience of countries such as Greece and Spain shows that joining the Euro-Atlantic structures is not a sweet piece of cake but a process that occasionally will be bitter. The more the economy is revived and the standard of living increased, the easier the process will be, Minister Pavlov said in conclusion.

No Plans To Build Belene Nuclear Plant

AU0205121795 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 28 Apr 95 p 13

[Article by Ralitsa Mileva]

[FBIS Translated Text] For the time being, the cabinet will not insist on constructing the Belene nuclear power plant, Deputy Prime Minister Kiril Tsochev announced yesterday. He added that precise calculations of electricity consumption will show whether it is necessary to resume construction of the nuclear plant.

According to Tsochev, the Belene plant will have to be built if energy-intensive types of production are developed. He added that there are two alternatives possible: either an expensive gas-powered plant, or a nuclear one. Tsochev said that the government's program did not include constructing the Belene plant, but its most immediate task is to optimize deliveries of raw materials. There are plans to restore some of the existing

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power plants at a later stage, Tsochev said, while the plan for energy consumption would only be discussed in the distant future.

Zhelev's Actions Said Uniting Opposition

AU0205184795 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 22-23 Apr 95 p 8

[Commentary by Rumyana Bratovanova: "Warning Bell Tolls"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The authorities in Bulgaria are not only at loggerheads, but have even started pulling one another's hair. The president's laconic determination to impose his delaying veto on the Land Act amendments surprised no one. However, having moved in the right direction, Dr. Zhelev again got carried away. It is unnecessary for him to refer the amendments to the Constitutional Court, since the opposition has the same possibility. If Zhelev seizes the initiative from the opposition, the propaganda of the left will brand him as enemy No. 1 of the agricultural reform. In addition, it is doubtful what benefit can be gained from extending the territory of the conflict to NATO.

The president's consultations were an undoubted success, but this success has a slightly bitter taste. The talks managed to unite rivals—the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] and People's Union—and even opponents, namely the DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement] and Bulgarian Business Bloc, the left-wingers (the Democratic Alternative for the Republic) and the liberals (New Choice). However, Zhelev legitimized himself as a key opposition figure, to the detriment of his role as president. It is a poor consolation that one political force [the DPS] came out into the open and proposed him for a second term as president, through the initiative of that controversial figure [DPS leader] Ahmed Dogan. It is unlikely that the SDS will fail to notice how carefully the president is making his preparations before charging off at full gallop against the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]. This is in contrast to his lighting attack against the SDS administration at the Boyana Meadows meeting in August 1992.

Only the BSP might derive any real benefit from the presidential consultations, because they demonstrated the unpopularity of the left's legislative style. However, complacency has blocked the ears of the rulers, and they are unlikely to hear the warning bell.

Kostov: Economic Revival Not Due to Government

AU0305073295 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 26 Apr 95 p 1

[FBIS Translated Text] Sofia (DEMOKRATSIYA)—The government has so far failed to utilize the chief factor promoting economic growth—namely investment—so it cannot claim that it has made any contribution to the economic revival, insofar as it exists.

This was Ivan Kostov's answer to journalists when asked whether the economy was really "coming to life" and what the reasons for this were. According to the chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], the slight signs of growth are not due to actions by any governments to date, because no government has applied investment as a factor. Kostov reminded the journalists that the state investments provided in the present budget are pathetic, but the SDS proposal to increase them was rejected. The economic revival is due to two largely spontaneous factors. The first is the increase in the private sector's share of the GDP (it was 20 percent even in 1992, although it was represented as 5 percent for propaganda reasons); now, the figure is given as 35 percent. The second factor cited by Kostov is that some of the large firms (whose directors have now been dismissed—author's note] have adapted to the new conditions.

Kostov recalled that, for the same propaganda purpose, the prime minister recently repeated three times on national television that inflation in the first quarter will be 10 percent, although the official figure is 11.5 percent.

In Kostov's view, the manner in which Professor Zakhari Karamfilov, president of the National Statistical Institute, presented the current economic situation was also aimed at manipulating public opinion.

Worker-Smuggling Operation Discovered in FYROM

AU0205132195 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 26 Apr 95 p 2

[Article by Nikola Stoyanov: "Some 157 Bulgarian Citizens Arrested in Macedonia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Some 157 Bulgarians from Veliko Turnovo, Plovdiv, and Stara Zagora—and 8 Iranians—have been arrested during an operation of the secret services of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. They had been transferred in groups to the territory of the Republic of Macedonia in the vicinity of the village of Gabrene, Petrich region. Dobri Dobrev, the channel's organizer, has also been arrested.

The operation of the Macedonian special unit along the Greek-Macedonian border near the town of Gevgeli was conducted on Easter day. A secret channel for the illegal transfer of candidates for working abroad through Macedonia and Greece to the EU countries has been revealed, the Petrich Regional Directorate of the Interior Ministry reported on 25 April.

The route passed through the western ridge of Belasitsa Mountain near the Macedonian village of Valandovo and ended at the Vardar River, near Gevgeli, on the very border with Greece.

Dobri Dobrev, age 40, used to charge 100 German marks for each candidate for work in Europe that he transferred

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across the border. The second stage of the transfer operation was in the hands of Macedonians, who led the people to Greece.

According to Gevgeli municipal regulations, the people involved in organizing the transfer channel will first spend two months in the local prison. The 157 Bulgarians who were arrested will soon be extradited to Bulgaria. The same applies to the Iranian citizens. They have Bulgarian visas that are valid until the end of April. The extradition expenditures will be covered by the state budget.

After two months in the Macedonian prison, Dobri Dobrev will probably also be tried in Bulgaria. However, it is not clear whether he will first be tried in Macedonia. His Macedonian partners claim that he was the head of the smuggling operation, and that he kept 70 percent of the profits for himself.

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Klaus on U.S. Visit, Future Relations, NATO

LD0205192895 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1615 GMT 2 May 95

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by correspondent Jan Smid in Washington; date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Smid] Mr. Prime Minister, your stay in the United States could be divided into two parts—the first, which could be called the academic one, includes an address at Harvard University, a visit to the University of Chicago, and an address to the Council on Foreign Relations entitled: The Czech Republic in the Posttransformation Period. You spoke here on the same subject exactly a year ago. What has changed since then in the bilateral relations between the Czech Republic and the United States and between the Czech Republic and institutions with a dominant U.S. role?

[Klaus] First of all, I would like to say that, if anything has changed, it is that relations are becoming stabilized and absolutely normal. I think these relations are the standard relations between two countries, and this, of course, is a very good thing.

As regards changes on the world stage, where the United States is the most important player and we want to join, perhaps our interest in NATO has become more pronounced, and this is now acknowledged and responded to ever more by the other side.

Another thing we want to discuss here is the OECD because it is an organization we would like to join as soon as possible. It is not an exclusively academic organization but one comprising influential people from among U.S. Government advisers and officials of international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. We also held negotiations at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. So all of this is connected with both the basic and business relations between the Czech Republic and the United States.

[Smid] You said our relations with the United States are stable. Would it be right to say that at your Thursday talks with President Clinton you will discuss, above all, issues of collective security in Europe?

[Klaus] I think issues of global international policy will constitute the main part of our negotiations. Bilateral issues, their details and snags, and certain things that need fine-tuning, really, these issues concern people at, say, two levels below President Clinton and will be dealt with at negotiations in the Department of State, the Treasury Department, and the Commerce Department. And even then not at the level of ministers but, say, one level under. It is simply out of the question to burden President Clinton with things like that; he must have a more global perception of the world. So the basic topics will include our perception of the role of the United States in Europe in this new era.

[Smid] What is your view of Andrey Kozyrev's recent visit to the White House, at which the Russian foreign minister again repeated that NATO expansion was more likely to divide Europe than unite it?

[Klaus] I have said on a number of occasions that, if I were the Russian foreign minister, I would naturally be saying the same thing. I feel and understand that Russia worries slightly about becoming overtly isolated. It worries about remaining quite alone, that all countries around it will join NATO and it will be the only one that will be left out. This is really something that, I believe, cannot please Russia. Therefore, when considered from the Russian point of view, what Russia says seems to me to be quite logical. On the other hand, I think it has no influence on when the Czech Republic will join NATO. I think we should not be so oversensitive and think that every sentence by Kozyrev is aimed at the Czech Republic. I am quite convinced that Russian diplomacy knows as well that the Czech Republic is a standard European country that has an urgent need to be part of standard European institutions and that NATO is one of them. Therefore, it does not worry me as much as, it seems to me, it worries our media. [passage omitted]

[Smid] It can be expected that, during your talks in the Congress, you will also touch upon the issues concerning the restitution of Jewish property. U.S. legislators have recently displayed dissatisfaction with the way this issue is tackled in our country. Are these criticisms important, and what are these objections based on?

[Klaus] First of all, the remarks concerning, for example, Jewish property, were not aimed at the Czech Republic. Several congressmen sent a letter to Secretary of State Warren Christopher, but, really, the letter was not addressed to anyone in the Czech Republic. Every time I deliver an address in the United States, I find that our policy concerning the issue of dealing with the past is one that is understood in oversimplified terms, but I am quite convinced that, should I be invited to, I would be able to explain it quite easily. The process of explaining is an urgent one, and should there be an opportunity to explain things in the Congress, I would be very pleased to oblige. I know from experience that this particular issue can be explained very easily indeed.

[Smid] What is your view on future relations between the Czech Republic and the United States? Do you expect that the visa requirement between the two states could be abolished in the foreseeable future?

[Klaus] As we all know, the question of the possible abolition of the visa requirement is an issue of some considerable sensitivity to the United States. No doubt it will be discussed; it is one of those things I would like to mention when I see President Clinton. I really do think that the Czech Republic is not the sort of country toward which the United States should apply the visa requirement. Personally, I must admit it rather annoys me, when, on flying to the United States, I have to fill in those rather complicated documents one has to complete

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when visiting this country. This has become antiquated, to ask for a visa every time. We have forgotten about visa, and therefore it comes almost as a surprise. It would be a good thing if we could make some progress with this issue.

Further on Visit

AU0205135195 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 28 Apr 95 p 3

["Regular" interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Vaclav Musilek in Prague on 27 April: "The Opposition Often Reports in the United States Distorted Data About the Czech Republic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The coming visit by Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus to the United States is, above all, the topic of his regular interview with DENNI TELEGRAF. We are also discussing the concluded congress of the Czech Social Democratic Party and the foundation of the new "Stepan's" communist party.

[Musilek] Mr. Prime Minister, during your coming visit to the United States, in addition to meetings with the country's leading representatives, you will deliver several lectures and speeches. What will be the focus of these speeches?

[Klaus] Of course, one topic is the situation of the Czech Republic and its orientation because this information is still lacking in the United States. Another parcel of ideas is the sphere of a certain generalization of our experience because we have passed through certain stages, and it is possible to look back and make statements that have a more general validity. The third plane is comments on the present ideological controversies, which are similar for us and for the Western countries, including the United States. This means reflections on civic society, communitarism, protectionism and the so-called fair trade, reflections on extreme concept of the environmental view of the world, and contemplations on the relationship between the state and the free citizen. All these are issues that are already common to them and us. We have a special sensitivity to these issues given by our past in the communist era, so I believe that our point of view is different and certainly of interest to them. Finally, the fourth level is the reflections on international political problems.

[Musilek] Will you also attempt to correct some information that apparently came to the United States from rather nonrepresentative sources?

[Klaus] You certainly have in mind the issues related to the granting of citizenship and the coming to terms with the past, specifically with the restitution of property of some associations and churches, including the Jewish property, and also the contemplations on the quality of our capital or other markets and banking systems, or the lack thereof. Of course, all of this must be explained because our opposition or even extraparliamentary groups, whose representatives travel to the United States a hundred times more often than the representatives of the government parties, often provide here distorted information. Moreover, reflections of various lobbyists from diverse parties and some U.S. investors and businessmen contribute to the dissemination of inaccurate information. Therefore, it is necessary to rectify this.

[Musilek] Similarly to the U.S. Army 50 years ago, you will then go to Plzen to commemorate the anniversary. Will you use this symbolism in some way?

[Klaus] When I wrote my speech for the coming trip to the United States and the text of my Plzen address that will be the first one upon my return to the Czech Republic, I must admit that the closing speech of the U.S. visit is about Plzen, while in Plzen I will speak about the United States. For me, it is a continuum. These issues interpenetrate, and they are not altogether different. After all, it is all the time the same issue.

[Musilek] The largest opposition party, the Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD], held its congress last weekend. Did the congress surprise you in any way? Did it attract your attention by something?

[Klaus] I must admit that I did not follow the congress of the CSSD very closely. And, although I may have been flabbergasted by some of the elections—the deputy chairmen, for instance—I fully respect that an autonomous political party elects its executive, drafts its program, and uses its election rhetorics. All I can say about it is "no comment."

[Musilek] Our political spectrum expanded last weekend by a party called the Party of Czechoslovak Communists, the foundation of which resulted in perhaps too strong a response because it openly goes back to the totalitarian regime, and it personifies this also in its chairman. How do you feel about the emergence of such a grouping?

[Klaus] I believe that one cannot feel anything about the foundation because, as long as the legal order of the Czech Republic is respected, and all the conditions for the registration of a political party are satisfied, then by all means let the party emerge. Because this party has absolutely no chance of an electoral success, its existence leaves me completely cool.

[Musilek] How would you assess the ongoing process of integration between the Civic Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Party? Would you say that the concurrent courtship between the Christian Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party somewhat hampers the process?

[Klaus] At the meeting with the Christian Democratic Party representatives, I said that one does not tell one's future spouse before the wedding about one's last attempts at marrying others. We would like it if the Christian Democratic Party also thought like that. Moreover, I hope that it is a courtship of a different weight and a different importance.

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Havel Asks For Particulars of NATO Expansion

AU0305073095 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 28 Apr 95 p 12

[Article by Lubos Palata on Czech President Havel's SHAPEX '95 address in Mons on 27 April: "Havel Went Beyond Czech Dimensions in His Vision of NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Vaclav Havel perfectly used the opportunity offered to him by the historical appearance before the NATO staff in Mons, Belgium. At a time of the culmination of the talks on NATO expansion, he presented an essential integral vision of the pact's future from the point of view of a globally thinking Central European.

Havel, for the first time, openly demanded that a principal restructuring of the alliance and a new definition of its objective precede its expansion east. Havel said verbatim that, if NATO does undergo such changes, it will soon lose its meaning. It is important that the president not only asked for changes, but even specified our ideas on them. Although we are not members yet, we have the right, and in a way an obligation, to express our opinion. The idea of the protection of the "Euro-American" democracy, which Havel presented, does not differ in principle from the orientation of the discussion within the alliance, but the important point is that Prague is endorsing it so openly.

It is also important that he stated that we do not want to become a part of NATO to be protected but rather to protect these values ourselves. This, however, should be expressed more frequently before the Czech public. It is not certain whether this nation is intrinsically prepared for something like that or that it is aware of the necessity of such a stand.

Havel endorsed the most recent Western initiatives that indirectly offered Moscow a strategic partnership with the option of a contractual guarantee. Elsewhere, however, he stated just as clearly that he cannot imagine Russia as a NATO member state.

This "lack of imagination" contradicts another passage of the address, however, where the president spoke about the "alliance not rejecting in advance any country in the Euro-American space that shares these (democratic) values." This universalist concept has been subdued by the horror of the present-day Russia, which is understandable in the instance of a Central European observing the atrocities committed by Moscow in Chechnya. That is, however, a problem of the rulers in Kremlin. Their conduct closes even so idealistically open arms, as Havel's embrace undoubtedly is.

The Czech president again reiterated before the NATO commanders that the passage of Central European states into the European Union will be "long and taxing," and this, according to him, makes it just more important that the alliance membership be not conditioned by joining the EU. The expansion of the pact would, according to Havel, "reinforce political stability in the new democracies." It is an answer to those political circles in West Europe that would like to see a concurrent admission of new members to the EU and NATO, and it must be noted that this point of view is widespread in the EU.

NATO is an instrument for spreading stability rather than waiting for it, Havel appealed, and referred to the beginnings of the alliance, when precisely this approach was one of the foundations for the success of the pact. At the time, however, there was a strong and dominant interest of the United States, an interest that is subsiding and, unfortunately, is not replaced by an interest on the part of the West European states. Because of the complacency stemming from Washington's paternalism, they are not capable of demonstrating a sufficient will to an independent decisionmaking, and, instead of an integration of interests of the West Europeans, a division occurs. That has been demonstrated also in Yugoslavia, which Havel referred to as a warning for those who believe that "there are European events that do not concern the entire Europe."

Of course, the Czech president advocates Central Europe as the priority orientation for the alliance expansion as the region closest to NATO. This sounds very convincing to the Germans, less to the Portuguese of Greeks. It is our good fortune that Bonn is gaining strength in the alliance, and Germany certainly does not wish to be the border of the pact.

Havel's appeal for drafting a schedule for the expansion and clearly defined conditions is a wish that can become a father to the thought. What should these conditions be? Should they contain the necessary number of tanks or the maximum number of the former political instructors in the units of the membership applicants? If NATO wants to accept new members, it will announce it at the right time, and it will say who it is to be.

Despite some cosmetic imperfections, Havel's address again proved the author as a statesman transcending the modest circumstances of the Czech Republic. A problem, and not only for the president, is, however, how to change these circumstances. The humility is well rooted in the citizens and the politicians of this state. It would make us a ballast weight for the "new" NATO envisioned by Havel, even if we had the best army in the world.

Views Obligations of Membership

AU0305095095 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 29 Apr 95 p 2

[Interview with Czech President Havel by Lubos Palata in Mons "shortly after" his SHAPEX '95 address in Mons on 27 April: "We Must Be Ready To Protect Values of the Alliance"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mons/Prague—Shortly after his address in the NATO Command seat on 27 April, President Vaclav Havel again repeated that the Czech

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Republic must be ready to accept all obligations arising from membership of the North Atlantic Alliance.

[Palata] In your address to the annual session of the NATO Supreme Command, you declared that the Czech Republic is ready to protect the common values of Euro-American civilization. Is the public really willing to do something like that?

[Havel] The public has demonstrated a sufficient sense for the values the Alliance is protecting by its stand in the elections, the approach to the economic reform, and the engagement in it. If someone accepts values, he must also accept the fact that they require protection.

[Palata] You said that NATO expansion must be preceded by a new definition of its objective. What should be the basis for this transformation?

[Havel] Nothing needs to be changed on the fundamental document of the Alliance—i.e., the Washington Declaration. I would not recommend that anyone try to rewrite it or write a new one. On the contrary, it would suffice if NATO returned to this declaration. Everything I recommend to the Alliance is therein. It is necessary, however, to declare it again after so many years because, as a result of the former bipolar division of the world and the subsequent development, NATO has become something else, which requires a certain transformation under the new conditions. This transformation should take place in the spirit of the Washington Declaration rather than contesting it.

[Palata] You spoke about the changes necessary for NATO to have some meaning. The Czech Army has to change, too. Are you satisfied with the progress of its transformation, and where do you see its main shortcomings?

[Havel] Relatively speaking, the Army has done a lot of work in its internal transformation and adjustment to NATO standards. The Alliance representatives particularly recognize the rapid deployment brigade built along the lines of similar NATO brigades. What should change faster is the attitude of the public to the Army and the attitude of the soldiers to themselves. It is necessary that service in the Army become an honor, that the citizens view soldiers as people who protect our freedoms rather than as parasites. That will require a lot more work, and it is a task not only for the Army itself but also for politicians, teachers, all of us.

[Palata] You claim that we have a better chance of becoming NATO members soon than joining the European Union, and therefore the Alliance membership is a priority for us. Do you have the support of the entire government on this point?

[Havel] I have been repeating this idea for a long time. It used to crash against the indignation of some Western states, which had defined the route—first the European Union and then NATO. Of late, however, the view of these countries is changing. Regarding our politicians, I have not noticed any other opinion, and we, with Minister Zieleniec, agree on this point.

[Palata] The social democracy believes that, on joining NATO, the state should ask for a special status guaranteeing that neither nuclear weapons nor foreign troops would be deployed on its territory. Would that be acceptable to the Alliance?

[Havel] If we want to become a part of the group that would mean more solid security for us than we have ever had, we must also take the appropriate obligations on ourselves. I am not aware of any reason for not accepting them. Moreover, I have never heard from any Western politician that he would discuss something like that. It is nonsense both technically and strategically. The problem of nuclear weapons was made up by communists as an argument for not joining NATO.

Prime Minister Discusses Czech-Slovak Relations

AU0305112795 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 28 Apr 95 p 3

["Regular" interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Bohumil Pecinka in Prague on 27 April: "The Goal of Integration With the Christian Democratic Party Is a Single Party"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Pecinka] Vladimir Meciar affirmed that the model of Czech-Slovak relations you conceived jointly in the fall of 1992 is outdated and that a new concept must be prepared. What is your opinion?

[Klaus] That is for me a rather strong formulation. It is absolutely clear that, at the time of the partition, we created a somewhat nonstandard model. It could be a subject of discussion whether the time has come to terminate the nonstandard elements. It is a pity that these talks did not take place six months ago. With the passage of time from the establishment of the Slovak Government, incongruous expectations have grown regarding the feasible results of these talks.

[Pecinka] Slovak Parliament Chairman Ivan Gasparovic said that pressures have been exerted on Slovakia to abrogate Benes's decrees. What would this mean for the Czech Republic?

[Klaus] It is well known that Hungary also exerted pressure on Czechoslovakia that these decrees be abrogated. The decision of a single state in itself would not, however, have any impact on the decisionmaking of another one. [passage omitted]

Government Coalition Parties Compared

95CH0201B Bratislava MOSTY in Czech 28 Feb 95 p 9

[Article by Vaclav Andrle: "A More Express Differentiation Between ODA and the ODS"]

[FBIS Translated Text] All manner of things could have been expected of the national conference of the Civic

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Democratic Alliance (ODA) that took place this weekend at Hradec Kralove. Pedantic individuals who believe that something that has a beginning should also have an end were waiting for proof or at least additional indications that would confirm the suspicions harbored for some time by party chairman Kalvoda against BIS [Security and Information Service]. They had to be among the most disappointed individuals. The BIS cause was never taken up—if we do not wish to be satisfied with a general expression of support for the party leadership in its efforts to improve control and the management of this secret service.

Similar disappointment was also experienced by those who were expecting personnel changes, the previously proclaimed rejuvenation of the leadership of ODA. Daniel Kroupa, who spoke about this pride of the conference, was, in the end, the only one who lost his existing seat as deputy chairman. But what has not occurred hitherto could soon be reality. Roman Ceska, chairman of the National Property Fund, a pragmatic and serious individual who is as yet in his thirties, was elected to the central party assembly and, if we were to believe the information coming from the lobbies, he has a great chance of becoming its chairman in not quite a month's time. In any event, however, the advent of new faces, if it is to occur at all, will certainly be at a slower pace than could have been anticipated on the basis of some preconference speeches.

A detailed debate of the debt with which ODA is currently burdened was also deferred. Discussions held by Jan Kalvoda with companies willing to assist the party in this sensitive matter are not, in his own words, at a stage that is suitable for publication. An interesting mechanism for eliminating the party's debt was brought up in the form of an initiative by Miloslav Mueller from Milovice. It was a proposal to issue party bonds, which would mature by the end of the millennium. In view of the current number of ODA members, however, each one would have to pay an average of 20,000 korunas [Kc], something that obviously condemns this initiative to failure in advance.

The press is negative regarding the fact that the alliance has not been able to come to terms with its current scandals: "It has lost the ability of a self-critical view and has succumbed to bewitching stories regarding threats."; "It has stuck its head in the sand in the face of the inexcusable political failure of its leadership." (MLADA FRONTA DNES, No. 55); "It suffers from an entrenched view that the world is doing it an injustice." (LIDOVE NOVINY, No. 55).

At the same time, however, the press is positive with regard to the submission of "vigorous documents," particularly the new political and especially the new economic program.

The political program more clearly indicates an effort to differentiate its standing in the coalition, to also take a different approach even while supporting the fundamental goals of government policy. Delegate Kuzilek characterized this effort by saying that "ODA has an expressly different view of the character of the state than does the ODS [Civic Democratic Party]." There is the effort here to create the concept of limited cooperation—in other words, to not let the coalition fall but, at the same time, to assert its own rightist and conservative concept of the state. In this time frame, this represents a specific increase in the role of regional self-administration (the krajs) and making all points of the Constitution operative (Senate).

A priority for ODA will be support in the area of economic growth through active state policy, liberalization, elimination of deformations in the legal and taxation system, increasing mobility in the labor market (the institution of a minimum wage has a demotivating effect), and liberalization of rents. ODA will be pursuing the separation of social security from social insurance.

As is usually the case, the conference did not provide final resolution to many questions. Another conference in September will continue the work. It is high time—the elections are approaching.

Illegal Ephedrine Trade Deal Foiled

95CH0191B Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 28 Feb 95 p 1

[Article by ina: "Drugs Made From Czech Ephedrine Were To Be Produced in Mexico"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague (ina)—Swiss and U.S. specialists in the battle against drugs frustrated an illegal trade transaction involving ephedrine at the beginning of last year in Mexico—the ephedrine was most likely manufactured by one of the Czech pharmaceutical firms. This transaction could have produced profits in the hundreds of billions of korunas. This is evident from the report by the UN International Council for the Control of Narcotics for last year, which was published yesterday. The Czech police have confirmed this report.

Fifty tons of ephedrine were destined for secret laboratories via nonexistent Mexican firms. According to UN specialists, the shipment originated in the Czech Republic and found its way to Mexico through dealers in Switzerland.

The director of the UN Information Center in Prague, Andreas Nicklisch, stated that 50 tons of ephedrine can be converted into 1 billion street doses of the best-known Czech drug Pervitin, which is the trade name for methamphetamine. In the U.S. drug market, the price of a single dose of Pervitin is about $20. The confiscated 50 tons of ephedrine could thus produce drugs worth 600 billion korunas [Kc]. The total annual expenditures of the Czech Republic's state budget are approximately Kc450 billion.

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"We know of the case. We continue to work on it, and that is why it is not possible to say anything about it. We agreed on this with our U.S. colleagues. I do not understand, therefore, why the International Council for the Control of Narcotics made this case public," stated the chief of the antidrug brigade, Jiri Komorous, yesterday.

According to some sources, it is not out of the question that a portion of the shipment may have gotten abroad in a completely legal manner. Similar transactions, which as a result, for example, involve the export of greater quantities of addictive substances than the quantities shown on shipping documents, are made possible by inadequate controls during their production, according to experts. The police have for a substantial period of time suspected that some pharmaceutical enterprises are losing products that later show up on the narcotics black market.

"Moreover, there is no law on precursors, according to which the authorities would be obliged to inform the UN antidrug headquarters in Vienna of every export transaction involving addictive substances," states Jiri Vacek, who was responsible for the fight against narcotics at the Federal Ministry of the Interior and is now working as a therapist with drug addicts.

The spokesperson for the General Directorate of Customs, Karel Thiele, confirmed that customs officials do not inform foreign authorities in the case of legal exports of addictive substances. "As long as this is official, we are not required to tell anybody anything," said Thiele.

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Daily Criticizes U.S. Congressman's 'Interference'

AU0305074495 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 28 Apr 95 p 4

[Commentary by Jozef Janto: "Lantos Is Advising Us on How To Get Into NATO; Experience and Erudition Need Not Always Go Along With Wisdom"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Thomas Lantos (67), member of the U.S. House of Representatives from California, is sufficiently known to our public. He is an expert on the countries of Central and East Europe (Lantos was born in Hungary, which he left at age 16), and, as a member of two congressional committees, he is involved not only in international politics but also in the sphere of human rights. Not surprisingly, quite a few people were interested in the lecture he gave in the Druzhba congress hall in Bratislava on 26 April. Right at the outset, Lantos told us to take as our example Hungary, which has "attracted some $8.5 billion in foreign investment," while we "a much smaller sum." He forgot to mention that our southern neighbors have amassed a foreign debt of almost $30 billion and that the Hungarian economy is developing from bad to worse. Likewise, he did not mention that the limited influx of foreign investment to Slovakia is the work of people who, after we acquired independence, were deliberately creating a bad image of our state.

I do not claim that Tom Lantos, too, is one of these people. But when he speaks about "fascist tendencies" in Slovakia and "concern about the extreme right, which represents a model that might block the Slovak Republic's admission to NATO," it is necessary to ponder his words. Incidentally, he himself supposedly supports Slovakia's admission to NATO: "We in the United States will also have a say on your NATO admission, and we hope that the request will come soon; I will welcome it." When we combine the former and latter statements, the question of interference in the internal affairs of another state inevitably comes to mind. We were confirmed in this by Tom Lantos's almost categorical imperative regarding the separation of church and state. It is up to the United States to have the two separated at home. Whether the same separation will (or will not) be realized elsewhere is, in turn, up to another state, or, more accurately, its government or citizens.

Lantos's ideas sounded most incomprehensible and most cynical when he put Bratislava into context with Oklahoma City in the United States, where U.S. right-wing extremists blew up a government building last week, killing dozens of people. As a "good friend and great admirer" of Slovakia, he will supposedly try to facilitate the attainment of its goal (integration into West European structures), but he has one condition: In Oklahoma City, as well as in Bratislava, "we must see changes." Calling this outrageous is using a gentle word. What is it that Lantos finds so irritating about Bratislava and Slovakia? One exhibition about the first Slovak president, arranged by an organization that wanted to show a somewhat more graphic picture of Jozef Tiso. This picture provoked a few comedians and someone called Marianek [chairman of the Human civic organization] to put on fascist uniforms, smear themselves with ketchup, and lie down on the pavement. This staged spectacle, ordered, perhaps, for fat dollars, is supposed to be the Slovak Oklahoma City!! Thank you very much, Thomas Lantos!

[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 28 April on page 2, under the headline "Jan Slota vs. Tom Lantos," carries the following TASR report: "The chairman of the Slovak National Party rejects views on the history of the Slovak nation as presented by Tom Lantos, Democratic Party congressman from California, in his Bratislava lecture on the possibilities of the Central European countries' admission into European and transatlantic structures. Jan Slota voiced the belief that Tom Lantos does not know the history of Slovakia because he evaluated the president of the 1939-45 Slovak state in the same way as the Nazi Hitler and the fascist Mussolini."]

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Visits Slovakia

LD0305110795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1058 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bratislava, May 3 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic, who arrived on a one-day working visit to Slovakia earlier on Wednesday, met with Slovakian Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and Foreign Minister Juraj Senko.

The meeting focused on the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and bilateral relations between the two countries.

Bratislava is attaching great significance to Jovanovic's visit and the establishment of such high-level contacts, which is reflected in the fact that Meciar is attending the Jovanovic-Senko talks from the very beginning.

Unlike a large number of countries, Slovakia, which has initiated the visit, holds a balanced position towards the sanctions against Yugoslavia, because, like other Danube Basin countries, it has been badly affected by them.

Slovakia wants to play a more active role in the international quest for a solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

Jovanovic's visit is, therefore, part of Slovakia's efforts to this effect. Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic's visit, scheduled for Thursday [4 May], is also believed to be part of such efforts.

Meciar Admits Hungarian Treaty 'Jeopardized'

AU0205163895 Bratislava SME in Slovak 28 Apr 95 p 2

[CTK report: "According to Vladimir Meciar, Ratification of the Slovak-Hungarian Treaty Is Jeopardized"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Vladimir Meciar admitted in Bratislava yesterday that ratification of the treaty with Hungary, signed in Paris on 19 March, could be shelved because of fundamental resistance to it from the Slovak National Party (SNS). The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia is now trying to force [prinutit] its coalition partner to change his view of the treaty. According to Meciar's words, no date has been set for the treaty's ratification by the Slovak parliament. The Hungarian parliament will discuss the treaty next week. The Slovak prime minister drew attention to the fact that the basic treaty, by which all European countries are guided, grants to ethnic minorities only "individual and not collective rights." Meciar continues to reject autonomy status for the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, referring to the fact that no such requirement is embedded in the Slovak Constitution.

Plane With Ammunition Returns to Bratislava

AU0305072795 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Apr 95 pp 1-2

[Article by CTK, TASR, od: "Ammunition for Zuzana, Zuzana for Indians"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava/Moscow—Reports that the shipment of artillery shells seized in the Russian town of Mineralniye Vody in the northern Caucasus on Tuesday, 25 April, was of Slovak origin were confirmed with final validity yesterday. The export in question was declared by the Slovak Kerametal company, and the transport was secured by the Russian firm ALAK.

Engineer Jaroslav Mach, director of Bratislava airport, confirmed to us that an ALAK aircraft took off from the Slovak capital on 25 April. It was in possession of all of the required documents, in accordance with regulations. The Slovak Government Licensing Commission had approved the export of ammunition to India on the basis of trade cooperation between the Indian and Slovak sides. "The export permit was issued in accordance with valid regulations for the export of special equipment and ammunition," states a statement by the Slovak Government Press and Information Department.

"The transport in question concerns ammunition for testing the Zuzana self-propelled howitzer in India, in keeping with the terms of the tender," says a statement by Kerametal provided to the TASR by Stefan Ziak, commercial director of Kerametal and member of its board of directors. According to a report released by the Russian INTERFAX agency, 40 metric tons of artillery charges, 155-mm caliber, were on board.

"The transport was secured by a transport company that is, according to a valid contract, fully responsible for the transport to the point of destination in accordance with valid international regulations. The exporter had supplied the transport company with all of the permits and documents that are required for this kind of transport and commodity. The route and technical stopovers are arranged by the transport company itself, which is responsible for the correct declaration of the goods and for obtaining transit and other permits," the Kerametal statement says in conclusion.

Yuriy Latariya, director of the Slovak subsidiary of the ALAK company, confirmed the above information in an interview for CTK. According to Latariya, the detention of the aircraft by Russian authorities at an airfield in the Caucasus was caused by "bureaucratic circumstances." According to information provided by the Moscow office of the ALAK company, the aircraft was supposed to return to Bratislava yesterday. After refueling, it will depart for Bombay, India. "All of the cargo papers are in order, and no extra documents will be added in Bratislava," Latariya said. [passage omitted]

CTK announced that the aircraft of the Russian ALAK air carrier landed at Bratislava airport shortly before 2000 hours yesterday.

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Army Not Planning Emergency Border Measures

LD0205181395 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 2 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian Army is not planning any emergency measures in the southern border region. According to Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti, only minor, occasional incidents can be expected, which the border guard can handle adequately. The defense minister gave a statement after his talks with Bernd Wilz, state secretary of the German Defense Ministry.

[Begin Keleti recording] I think no UN forces will be deployed at the Hungarian border. The Hungarian Republic has its border guard and army, and they are ready and able to defend our country's border. However, the need to defend the border is out of the question for the time being. [end recording]

Interior Minister on Situation

LD0305084395 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 6 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian authorities have not had to implement any kind of extraordinary measures owing to the latest outbreak of the Yugoslav conflict. However, the Hungarian Government and the Border Guard are prepared to receive a possible new wave of refugees if the situation changes. This was said by Interior Minister Gabor Kuncze, who was our studio guest this morning.

[Begin Kuncze recording] Over the past period, the National Security Cabinet has several times dealt with the matter, assessing the expected developments and their consequences. We think there is no need for extraordinary measures, because Hungary's borders are not being threatened and we should not expect a larger wave of refugees either. However, if this situation radically changes, the Hungarian Government will naturally take the necessary measures; and we are prepared to receive a larger wave of refugees, if we have to face it.

[Unidentified correspondent] Does the Hungarian Border Guard have extraordinary duties now?

[Kuncze] No. I can confirm this. The Hungarian Border Guard is able to carry out its tasks related to new situations, because it has been prepared for this.

[Correspondent] Should it happen, what kind of international help can the Hungarian Government count on?

[Kuncze] I have recently held talks with a UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] delegation currently staying in Hungary. I have been reassured that if the situation changes changes we can count on the support of international organizations, and this has been the case to date. [end recording]

Spokesman Comments on Fighting in Croatia

LD0205205595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 2 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At his regular weekly press briefing, Gabor Szentivanyi, spokesman for the Ministryof Foreign Affairs, said the following about the latest developments in the Yugoslav crisis:

[Begin Szentivanyi recording] We took cognizance with regret of the fact that fighting has resumed. We are concerned that an armed conflict broke out in areas close to Hungary. We hope that it is only a short and isolated action. A major armed conflict in Yugoslavia would be by all means in contrast with our interests. We hope that this conflict, in accordance with the will of the sides and the international community, will not spread further. [end recording]

Police Union Joins Teachers' Demonstration

LD0105122495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 1 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Independent Police Trade Union considered it important to announce today, May Day, the very day of the teachers' demonstration, that it will join the teachers' demonstration. Judit Laszlo reports:

[Laszlo] Firemen sent a letter to [Interior Minister] Gabor Kuncze complaining about their living and working conditions. The interior minister promised at the [May Day] forum to do everything possible to improve the situation. However, the budget basically determines the opportunities. The government is aware of the employees' situation in the Ministry of the Interior, the minister said.

The policemen complained about the fact that state institutions train their colleagues who are later attracted by private security firms. According to the minister, the police can only be stabilized if the law on public service is passed. This may take place this year.

There will be a meeting to discuss staff cuts in the Ministry of the Interior tomorrow, when the details of laying off 600-800 persons will be decided.

Trade Union Petition Protests Government Program

LD0105131395 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1200 GMT 1 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The leaders of six trade unions have just handed a petition to parliament protesting against the government program. Trade unions, among them the trade unions of teachers and employees of the Interior and Defense Ministries, consider it unacceptable that the government has ignored the trade unions' opinion when deciding on austerity measures. [passage omitted]

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Kuklinski Refuses To Appear at His Appeal Trial

WS0205143495 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Apr-1 May 95 pp 1, 13

[Article by Jan Ordynski: "Kuklinski Will Not Be Present at His Own Trial"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"Ryszard Kuklinski will not come to Poland for his appeal trial scheduled by the Military Chamber of the Supreme Court for 25 May," informed the colonel's plenipotentiary, Jozef Szaniawski, at a news conference on 28 April. He read out a statement written by Colonel Kuklinski, dated 19 April: "With all due respect to my friends in Poland and with full respect for the Supreme Court of the Republic of Poland, I wish to state that for me, personally, neither an appeal in my favor nor the sentence that is eventually passed have any meaning for me any longer. Over the past five years, many people expected me to plead for mercy or for forgiveness, to formally appeal in my own case. I have not done that and never will! It would be beneath my dignity. I am not guilty. I feel no remorse. Everything I have done in my life I have done for Poland."*

Szaniawski charged all of the successive governments and the president for failing to do anything to clear Kuklinski, "the first Pole to have entered NATO," of charges of state treason and espionage. According to Szaniawski, particularly blameworthy is Suchocka's government, because in 1993 it appealed to the U.S. authorities not to allow Kuklinski to come to Poland.

The plenipotentiary, however, was unable to say whether the reason Kuklinski, who certainly knew several secrets about the CIA as an agent of that institution, did not come to Poland was a lack of consent from the U.S. authorities.

Szaniawski stated that some generals of the Polish Armed Forces were very pleased with the appeal and that some of them "admire the colonel." He did not, however, mention any names, adding that "for many, he still remains a pang of conscience."

"Kuklinski is deeply embittered and lonely," said his plenipotentiary. He has been an emigrant for 15 years now and has lost all that was dear to him: his native country, his house, two sons.

Only one of Ryszard Kuklinski's three lawyers, Piotr Dewinski, appeared at the news conference. He announced that he and his colleagues will try to acquit their client. The first president of the Supreme Court, the author of the appeal, is demanding that the 25-year prison sentence be repealed and the case reopened for investigation. Dewinski claims that the Supreme Court will not explore Kuklinski's earlier cooperation with the CIA. The special appeal pertains only to two charges for which he was sentenced: desertion on 7 November 1981 and state treason committed one day later, when the colonel passed on information of a threat to state security to foreign intelligence services. According to the lawyer, Kuklinski did not seek profit, and there is no document in the case files proving otherwise.

Journalists were unsuccessful in probing the hosts' opinions on whether individuals who were sentenced for espionage before Kuklinski should be treated the same way.

Poland's Walesa Urges NATO Expansion

BR0205103395 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 28 Apr 95 p 4

[Unattributed RITZAUS BUREAU report: "Poland Wants To Join NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] NATO should be expanded to include the Eastern and Central European countries which fell under the communist sphere of influence in the 1943 [as published] Yalta agreement between Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin.

Polish President Lech Walesa stressed this in a speech to the Foreign Policy Association in Copenhagen on 27 April.

He was greeted with a standing ovation in the packed banquet hall in the Glyptoteket museum when he entered the hall together with the Liberal Party leader, former Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen.

Walesa outlined his vision of a new European security architecture in a five-point plan. He emphasized that NATO's eastward expansion is a historic opportunity to heal the divided European continent which perhaps will never come again.

"NATO should expand if Europe is to be free from military tensions and interventions," Lech Walesa said.

"The aim is not confrontation with Russia, for example, because the West has no enemy after the collapse of the Warsaw Pact. The Western values such as the free market economy and political democracy have won," the president pointed out.

"Who would Poland go to war against—Lithuania or Estonia? It would be like the elephant against the mosquito," Lech Walesa said.

Rapid Membership

The first point in his plan is NATO's expansion towards the east. Poland wants full membership as soon as possible and is ready to join NATO's military command structures. The enlargement must not weaken the effectiveness of the defense alliance. The political prospect produced by enlargement is that the gray zone and the no-man's-land will be removed, Walesa said.

The second point is strengthened military cooperation in the preliminary stage before NATO membership, the agreements on Partnership for Peace with the East

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European countries. These cover joint military and general staff exercises and the exchange of information, the president said.

If some countries—Russia or Ukraine, for example—want additional declarations on cooperation, then NATO should give them them, he said.

Third, NATO's North Atlantic Cooperation Council, NACC, should not be a forum only for urgent matters. It should generate a debate on strategic matters such as the European-Atlantic security architecture, the Polish president said.

Fourth, Poland is ready to increase the effectiveness of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, OSCE.

Finally, Poland wants regional cooperation on the Baltic Sea. Not only militarily, but also a preparedness to deal with natural disasters and pollution, Lech Walesa stressed.

"NATO's expansion does not threaten Russia. On the contrary it would be wrong to turn one's back to Russia by leaving a gray zone of insecurity," the president said.

With a twinkle in his eye Lech Walesa finally described his conversations on European borders with Russian President Boris Yeltsin and his predecessor, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

"All arguments count in a debate on borders so a solution to the problem requires at least half a bottle of vodka. According to Gorbachev, a whole bottle of vodka is needed when talking to Yeltsin, but I can only drink half a bottle," said a smiling Walesa.

After his speech he received Danish fishing gear from Uffe Ellemann-Jensen. The president hoped that the gift was not a thank you for "fishing in troubled waters." On his way out from the Glyptoteket, Walesa received a standing ovation and was embraced by a very emotional elderly Polish woman.

Poll Shows Surge of Public Trust for Oleksy

WS0205142295 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 May 95 p 3

[Article by "(knysz)": "Center for Research on Public Opinion: Oleksy Moves Up"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The prime minister already has twice as many supporters as he did two months ago.*

In February, when Jozef Oleksy took over the position of prime minister from Waldemar Pawlak, 38 percent declared their trust for him. That figure currently stands at 60 percent.

The ratings of Oleksy's Cabinet have also improved, although there has not been that huge a surge of public trust in this respect: it grew from 34 percent to 46 percent between February and April. This has not, however, upset the sequence of the three institutions endowed with the greatest trust. Polish Radio remains in the lead (81 percent), followed by the Armed Services (79 percent) and Polish Television (74 percent).

The poll was carried out on 4 April on a random, representative group of 1,112 adult Poles.

Korwin-Mikke: Coalition Worse Than Nazi Occupation

WS0205150695 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2-3 May 95 p 3

[Article by Piotr Smilowicz: "Korwin-Mikke's Tax Reformation?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The Union for Real Politics [UPR] will hold the steering wheel," "Korwin for president,"—such cries accompanied the nailing of "21 antitax postulates" to the entrance door of the Finance Ministry. In those postulates, UPR is demanding that the income tax be lowered.

"The occupation of the Democratic Left Alliance and the Polish Peasant Party is worse than the Nazi occupation because, even in Hitler's times, taxes were lower," shouted Janusz Korwin-Mikke, raising loud applause from some 300 UPR members and supporters gathered in the courtyard of the Finance Ministry.

On 1 May, UPR celebrated the completion of the antitax campaign it carried out in April. The event was marked by "nailing" the "21 postulates" to the door of the building on Swietokrzyska Street.

"We have attained our goal—we made people aware of the abuse of leftist propaganda," deputy head of the party Mariusz Dzierzawski convinced those assembled at a seminar preceding the march. "We have proved that we are a strong organizational and intellectual force."

At 1300 the entire group, waving black flags with blue crosses, began its march from the Warsaw University buildings toward the Finance Ministry.

The party leaders, marching up front, jointly carried a huge wooden board with the inscription: "UPR is the last resort." Cries could be heard: "UPR will take the steering wheel!"; "Do not let them buy you with your own money!"; "Death penalty for bandits!"; "Freedom, property, justice!"; "Less taxes!".

Once the marchers reached the Finance Ministry courtyard shouting "a stronger police," they humbly obeyed instructions issued by police officers who allowed only a small group of party leaders led by Korwin to approach the entrance.

"Darn, they have metal doors now," said the UPR leaders once they reached the tightly locked entrance. The postulates were thus fastened with wire, and not nailed. Korwin "mocked" the nailing with a hammer he had brought especially for the occasion.

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"We managed to complete the action 20 minutes ahead of time. That is a good omen for the coming presidential elections," said the UPR leader among shouts of "Korwin our president!" and "Now I know, JKM!".

Commentary: Coalition Seeking All Power

WS2704132395 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Apr 95 p 1

[Commentary by Bronislaw Wildstein: "All Power to the Coalition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Polish Peasant Party [PSL] has threatened it will not adopt a voting discipline to overturn the Constitutional Tribunal's tax ruling unless it receives the post of the president of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK]. The coalition states Poland cannot afford to lower taxes. They will be lowered if the verdict of the Constitutional Tribunal is approved. This means that either PSL is iniquitous in signing the coalition's declarations, or it does not care much for the raison d'etat. One may also assume that PSL sees the raison d'etat as a party interest. Placing their man in a high post is more important than budgetary issues.

NIK can function properly only if it is separated from the executive branch. Notoriety was one of the reasons for the downfall of the Pawlak government.

The takeover of the post of NIK president coincides with the justice minister's appointment of a prosecutor affiliated with PSL as his deputy. The judiciary should be on a par with other branches (legislative and executive), and their separateness is the foundation of democracy.

The coalition is carrying out a campaign targeted at taking over public television, the most influential mass medium in Poland. It is difficult to imagine democracy without independent media, often referred to as the "fourth branch of power."

In a modern democracy, the particular powers should check and balance each other out, and be complemented by a strong self-government. PSL did everything it could to deprive the self-government of any influence.

The above-mentioned principles of democracy are gradually being replaced by one, represented by the coalition: Ruler take all.

Solidarity Head Urges Discipline, One Candidate

WS0305101995 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 29 Apr-1 May 95 p 2

[Article by "(wz)": "Krzaklewski's Plan for the Right Wing; Discipline and Solidarity"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Solidarity head Marian Krzaklewski called for the entire patriotism and independence camp to cooperate during a ceremony held yesterday to commemorate 3 May [Constitution Day]. He was applauded by 150 senior citizens and leaders of St. Catherine's Convent: Jan Olszewski, Jan Parys, Antoni Macierewicz, Adam Glapinski, and Andrzej Anusz.*

Krzaklewski presented his plan for the right wing. The number-one target is to remove postcommunists from power. This objective is to be implemented by holding a referendum on the Constitution, followed by parliamentary elections. The draft project of the constitution developed by the current parliament must first be rejected, and then early elections have to be won.

This plan, according to Krzaklewski, requires "discipline and solidarity" of the entire patriotism and independence camp. The latter condition may be threatened by the presidential election. If several candidates run, the right wing will split. Hence Krzaklewski's appeal that all candidates for the presidency lock themselves in one room and choose one candidate from among themselves.

"Currently," says the Solidarity leader, "we have four blocs in Poland: postcommunists (with a constituency of 3-3.5 million), peasants (2-2.5 million), secular-liberals, and patriotic-independents."

To field a candidate in the second round of the election, the latter group must gather more than 3 million votes. Voters who have been cheated for years will not vote for someone for nothing. A contract should be drawn with them.

Krzaklewski claims that the contract could consist of joint approval for the citizen's draft constitution, to which Solidarity has lent its trademark. This would allow for the removal of old elites from power on the basis of provisions on file-checking and decommunization, and for the establishment of new ones in the process of mass privatization.

BNN Head on Protection of State Secrets

WS0305101795 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Apr-1 May 95 p 2

[Article by "Z.L.": "When Everyone Protects Secrets, They Are Protected by No One; Secrets for the Few"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Henryk Goryszewski, head of the presidential National Security Office [BBN], revealed on Friday that he is still waiting for the results of an investigation he ordered the military and civilian secret services to carry out on the irresponsible disclosure of a state secret pertaining to armored weapons.*

"One of the genuine achievements of domestic technology, despite the recommendations of counterintelligence, was imparted to foreign experts. I do not have any doubts they would be willing to pay $2 million in exchange for the information, but the opportunity was wasted," said the embittered minister [Goryszewski's formal rank]. He added that since the president has made him responsible for state security, there were three occasions on which he demanded the secret services determine how classified information important for

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state security unexpectedly fell into undesirable hands. "In each case it was impossible to find the source of the leaks, too many people had access to the information, and if secrets are protected by a dozen people, they are protected by no one. In one case, thoroughly examined in the course of investigation, the leaks were found to be further links in the chain of those in the know, including the director of the arms plant himself, astonished at his own recklessness in the end."

"We have a lot of proof that old regulations on the protection of state secrets are not observed and that they are eroded," Ryszard Taradejna, head of the Administrative Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW], confirms Goryszewski's opinions. He added that he wishes the law dating back to 1982 will finally become history. Because of current regulations, which state that practically anything can be regarded as a state secret, and for ages at that, thousands of people in Poland are burdened with protecting state secrets. In reality, however, responsibility is dilated, unnecessarily burdening masses of people employed in sensitive sectors. "The list of secrets should be as small as possible in the future law. the circle of people having access to them—smaller, but tighter, and the responsibility of those protecting classified information—real. Such are the principles preferred by MSW. If they could be implemented, the number of Poles who, realizing the various problems and limitations involved, would voluntarily protect state secrets, would drop at least several times," claims Director Taradejna.

Despite ambitious plans, Henryk Goryszewski was unsuccessful in calling a closed session to discuss state secrets. Although invited representatives of the administration and the secret services, the Office of State Protection, the Military Information Services, the General Staff, and Cenzin—known for its "special equipment" trade—arrived, representatives of the media did not turn up. Regular journalists who happened to drop in at BBN were told by Minister Goryszewski that he wanted to orchestrate a clash between those who protect various state secrets in the interest of the state and the nation—albeit sometimes irrationally—on the one hand, and those who have a vested interest that there are no secrets on the other in the course of a working discussion. "I thought a preliminary agreement could be reached as to the general principles of future legal regulations. There have been too many divisions so far, too many conflicts of interest, there was no goodwill," said the head of BBN, repeatedly refuting charges brought forth by "hostile forces" that he had ever initiated the restoration of censorship.

Minister on Organized Crime, Political Terrorism

WS0205131995 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Apr-1 May 95 pp 1,13

[Article by Anna Marszalek: "Are We Endangered by Political Terrorism? Money-Laundering and Gang Wars"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"One trillion dollars generated from crime is laundered the world over each year, approximately $2-3 billion of which, according to the National Bank of Poland auditing services, is in Poland alone, primarily in casinos, private banks, and in the course of the privatization process. Criminal terrorism is intensifying. The police and secret services are investigating 21 organized crime groups, eight of which operate in Warsaw, that possess or use explosives," said Minister of Internal Affairs Andrzej Milczanowski. He also admitted that he fears political terrorism might appear in our country.*

He gave the example of the attack on General Jaruzelski in Wroclaw and threats against journalists. He admitted that many state officials on various levels are affiliated with crime groups, but that "their number is murky."

The minister claims gangs which have their backs pressed against the wall by the police may attempt, for example, to exert pressure on politicians to have all punitive action against them dropped. "Yet the criminals will keep feeling the hot breath of the services on the backs of their necks," said the minister, admitting that the phenomenon of criminal terrorism has not yet been sufficiently explored by his ministry.

A new department has been established at the counterintelligence board at the Office of State Protection. It will investigate drug smuggling channels, drug production facilities, crime groups committing acts of terror, gangs forging money and documents, illegal trade of arms, explosive and radioactive materials, international connections, and sources of financing for criminal groups endangering state security.

The gangs began using explosive materials in 1990, in so-called revenge crimes. That year they were used 21 times, in 1991 22 times, in 1992 53 times, in 1993 86 times, and by 21 April of this year already 55 times, mainly in Warsaw. The most common motives are settling accounts between criminals (colliding interests, conflicts between gang leaders), a show of force in collecting ransom money, frightening customs officers, prosecutors, and police officers, killings of rivals or eyewitnesses, and hooliganism. Political motives are rare.

As much as 80 percent of explosive devices were ignited by remote control, which is quite unusual as electronic fuses are rarely used in the world. It is also characteristic that some groups specialize in planting explosive devices and rendering services for other groups. Groups from Warsaw commission such services to groups from Gdansk and vice versa. This makes it more difficult to find the perpetrators, as does the unwillingness of victims and eyewitnesses to cooperate, coupled with the incapability of the police. A mere 37 bombers have been identified since 1993.

Milczanowski also reported that according to various estimates, turnover in the gray zone in Poland oscillates

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between 210 and 380 trillion old zlotys. Our country is still ranked within the third group of countries that are attractive from the point of view of money laundering (within the first group, among others, are the United States, Great Britain, and Switzerland; within the second are Russia, Turkey, Luxembourg, and Spain). Poland is seen as a country with an inept legal system and an underinvested police force. We know that money is laundered in our country from so-called operational sources, yet no proceedings have been instituted by the prosecutor or any of the courts. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Office of the Council of Ministers are currently working on establishing a central organ that would collect data on this subject.

Head of Police Superintendent Jerzy Stanczyk reported that he has taken specific action to curb car thefts and smuggling. Car markets are being controlled, and, following an agreement reached with the Border Guards, drivers will have to fill out a short form at border crossings (thus certifying they have crossed the border). The data supplied will be verified in the police files. Stanczyk has intensified the work of the police, including that of the departments for economic and organized crime.

Poll on Public Support for Privatization Project

WS0305101895 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Apr-1 May 95 p 7

[Article by "A.K.K.": "Public Interest in the NFI Project: One-Third for Sure"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *More than 28 million people will be eligible to acquire share certificates within the National Investment Fund [NFI] project. It still remains unknown how many people will subscribe. The success of the project will largely depend on an advertising campaign and the fee that is to be made for the certificates. The Ministry of Privatization is speaking of 25 zlotys, but that sum has not yet been fixed.*

Thus far, 33 percent of adult Poles declare they want share certificates, 37 percent have not yet reached a decision, and 30 percent rather do not want to purchase any. Such are the findings of a poll conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center at the request of the Privatization Ministry between 30 March and 3 April of this year on a representative group of adult Poles. Assuming that one-third of the adult citizens will take part in the project, more than 9 million share certificates will have to be issued.

It turns out that knowledge about the project and the opportunities it provides are a strong incentive for purchasing share certificates. Among those well informed about the project, 52 percent state they wish to purchase the certificates, as compared with a mere 19 percent in the group of those who do not know much.

The main reasons for not wanting to buy share certificates (those polled could mention several) was a shortage of money (70 percent), lack of information (64 percent), lack of understanding (45 percent), the disbelief that share certificates can bring profit and the conviction that the project is addressed toward other people (36 percent). Respondents were relatively rarely critical of the project (for 4 percent of those polled, critical remarks were due to a lack of interest in the share certificates). The NFI project is "eyed with suspicion" by 9 percent, 18 percent claim they do not trust the government, and 19 percent say they do not believe the project can help Polish industry.

What are the major criteria for deciding whether or not to purchase share certificates? For 68 percent it is the fee for the share certificate, for 54 percent the fairness with which the project is implemented, and for 49 percent the value the share certificates will have on the free market. Relatively less important were prospects for improving the condition of state companies included in the project (an issue brought up by 26 percent of those polled), and the situation on the stock exchange (18 percent).

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Foreign Ministry Statement on Duma Resolution

AU0305112595 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] During his weekly news briefing today, spokesman Mircea Geoana read out a declaration of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The declaration says that the Foreign Affairs Ministry took notice with surprise of the resolution passed on 26 April by the Russian State Duma on the status of the 14th [Russian] Army [stationed in the Dniester region in the Republic of Moldova].

The Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry declaration assesses that the State Duma document seems to be an attempt to slow down the pullout of the Russian Federation troops temporarily deployed on the territory of the Republic of Moldova. The resolution sets out from a false justification—namely: that the withdrawal of the 14th Army from the Dniester region would lead to a sudden increase of tension in that area.

The Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry reminds that the accord on the 14th Army pullout was signed by the prime ministers of the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation on 26 October 1994 and has not yet been ratified by the Russian State Duma.

The Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry, like many international organizations, such as, above all, the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], supports the position of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Republic of Moldova, which expressed hope that the government of the Russian Federation will act in good faith to have the treaty on the 14th Army pullout ratified and implemented as soon as possible.

Iliescu Considers 1996 Candidacy Lawful

AU0205110795 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 27 Apr 95 p 1

[Article by "R.M.": "Mr. Iliescu Considers That He Has the Right To Run for the Presidency in 1996"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During a makeshift news conference in Baia Mare yesterday, in answer to a question inquiring about his possible plans to run for the presidency in the 1996 elections, President Ion Iliescu said that it is too early for him to answer that question. Answering the next question—"Do you consider that you have the right to run?"—Iliescu replied: "Yes, of course I do. You should read the Constitution that became effective in 1991."

We would like to point out that our fundamental law limits the holding of the presidential office to two [four-year] terms. [Iliescu was Romania's president 1990-92 and was reelected in 1992.]

Vacaroiu Affirms Objective of EU Membership

AU0205163595 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 2 May 95 p 8

[Article by "ay": "Bucharest on Its Way to the EU"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bucharest—Romanian head of government Nicolae Vacaroiu has affirmed the intention to present the formal application for the country's admission to the EU in Brussels at the end of June. He would regard it as discriminatory if the next round of the EU's expansion were to take place without Romania.

All politically and economically relevant groups in Romania agree on the objective to strive for EU membership as quickly as possible, Vacaroiu told German journalists in Bucharest. Together with them, a document that is to take stock of Romania's economic situation, but which is also to present the government's ideas on the way admission can take place, will be developed by the middle of the year, Vacaroiu said.

In this context, he referred to the transition periods that were, for example, granted to Spain or Portugal in the round of expansion in those days. Since the internal groups in Romania agree on the European policy objectives, the government does not think that a referendum on the treaty is necessary.

With its 23 million inhabitants, Romania is one of the biggest countries of all the Central European states, "without which Europe" would "not be complete." Vacaroiu admitted that Bucharest initially had some problems with the economic reforms, but meanwhile all advance concessions for entry have been made: "The market economy is now under way." With a few exceptions, prices and foreign trade have been liberalized and most of the subsidies have been reduced—for example, the value-added tax was introduced with the tax reform.

The privatization of the state-owned enterprises is decisively advanced with the current second wave. Vouchers (coupons) for the people's participation in more than 3,000 state-owned firms are currently being issued. In the past few weeks, Romania's relations with the IMF and the World Bank, which were tense for a long time, were also settled. There is agreement on granting new IMF/World Bank credits to Bucharest. Vacaroiu referred to the previous experiences with the association agreement between Romania and the EU, which is aimed at the country's full EU membership. For Vacaroiu, the association "proves the dynamics of the Romanian economy."

Industry Minister Dumitru Popescu also assesses the association agreement as a success, as a consequence of which the Romanian economy was largely integrated within the European economy. About half of his country's exports are already sold in EU countries. This quota certainly has to be increased further, but one realizes that the quality standards of the EU economy also have to be achieved. Popescu regards the modernization of technology and products as the "number-one problem" of his industrial policy; it can only be solved in cooperation with the companies in the EU. For this reason alone, there is no alternative to the privatization of the state-owned enterprises and to the promotion of foreign investments, he said.

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Popescu realizes that considerable difficulties in the adjustment of the economic structures still lie ahead of the country, and that capacities still have to be drastically reduced in many production sectors. As an example, he mentions steel production: The country is on the verge of halving production capacity from about 17 million metric tons per year to 8 million metric tons per year. That was initiated as early as in 1993; thousands of jobs have been eliminated, he said.

George C. Paunescu, president of the General Union of Romanian Industrialists (UGIR; it corresponds approximately to the Federal Association of German Industry—the editors), also sees the need for modernization measures, for example in the steel sector. At the same time, however, he warns against the prospect that about 300,000 employees will lose their jobs in the steel industry alone as a result of the planned reduction of capacities. Paunescu calls on the EU and the EU member countries "to show more understanding for the Romanian situation and to refrain from wanting only to push through one's own wishes."

Draft Hungarian Treaty Article Published

AU0305092995 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 26 Apr 95 pp 1, 3

[Text of "Famous Article 15" of the draft Romanian-Hungarian Treaty]

[FBIS Translated Text] *We hereby publish Article 15 of the draft Romanian-Hungarian treaty—that is, the one in which the negotiations that were resumed yesterday in Budapest entered a deadlock. (The article is incomplete, negotiations are still under way on certain paragraphs.)*

(1) The Parties to the Treaty agree, with a view to protecting and furthering the ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious identity of the Romanian ethnic minority in Hungary, as well as the Hungarian ethnic minority in Romania, to apply as juridical norms the stipulations defining the rights of persons belonging to ethnic minorities, as well as the pledges assumed by the Parties regarding those rights, in the way they are stipulated by the documents mentioned in the Appendix to the present Treaty.

(2) Consequently the Parties reassert that the persons to whom the previous paragraph refers shall specifically have the right, which may be practiced either individually or together with other members of their group, to freely express, preserve, and further their ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious identity to participate in the social, economic, cultural, religious, and public life, and to have representatives designated by means of elections in the lawmaking bodies and the elected bodies of the local administration. In practicing their right to associate, the persons belonging to the aforementioned minorities shall have the right to found and maintain, in accordance with domestic laws, their own organizations, (political parties) (term rejected by the Romanian party to the treaty), and associations, as well as educational, cultural, and religious institutions or establishments.

(4) [number as published] The Parties to the Treaty shall observe the right of the persons belonging to ethnic minorities to have access in their mother tongue to information and electronic and printed mass communication media, and to freely exchange and circulate information. The Parties shall offer the aforementioned persons the possibility, in concordance with domestic legislation, to found and administrate their own mass communication media.

(5) The Parties to the Treaty shall respect the cultural and historical heritage of their ethnic minorities, shall endorse their efforts to protect the historical monuments and sites preserving the culture and history of the ethnic minorities, and shall take appropriate steps so that in the areas where the population is mixed, the citizens should be familiar with the Hungarian and, respectively, Romanian cultural assets.

(6) The Parties shall observe the right of persons belonging to the aforementioned ethnic minorities to freely maintain contact among themselves, as well as across the borders, with citizens of other countries, and their right to participate in activities organized by national and international nongovernmental organizations.

(7) The Parties to the Treaty shall also examine, on occasion of their periodical consultations as stipulated by Article 5, issues pertaining to their cooperation regarding the ethnic minorities following the application of the stipulations of the present Treaty. The parties shall mutually support each other in monitoring the way in which the stipulations of the present Article are implemented. To that purpose they shall (set up a joint intergovernmental committee with a structure that is considered appropriate) (objection raised by the Romanian party) and shall cooperate to ensure the proper adoption of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] and Council of Europe procedures intended to verify the fulfillment of the pledges referring to the protection of the rights of persons belonging to ethnic minorities, as defined in the aforementioned organizations' documents, of which the Parties to the Treaty are signatories.

Appendix

The list of the documents to which Paragraph 1 of Article 15 of the Treaty of Understanding, Cooperation, and Good Neighborliness Between Romania and the Hungarian Republic refers:

1. The document of the 29 June 1990 Copenhagen CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension;

2. The UN General Assembly Declaration on the rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities (Resolution 47/135 of 18 December 1992);

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(3. The report on ethnic minorities of the CSCE Experts' Conference in Geneva 1991;

4. Recommendation 1201 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe;)

—The previous two documents were proposed by the Hungarian delegation but not accepted by the Romanian one.

5. The Council of Europe Framework Convention on the protection of national minorities signed in Strasbourg on 1 February 1995 (following its ratification by both states)—a Hungarian proposal.

Outcome of Joint Commission Meeting Reported

BK2704154795 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in Urdu 1500 GMT 27 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Pakistan and Romania have agreed to promote bilateral cooperation in the fields of economy, trade, industry and energy and allied sectors. This understanding was reached at the conclusion of the 13th session of Pakistan-Romania Joint Economic Commission in Bucharest. The two countries also agreed to exchange delegations of chambers of commerce and industry.

Pakistan's delegation at the session was led by Makhdum Shahabuddin, minister of state for finance, while the Romanian delegation was led by Finance Minister Florin Gerogescu. The two sides agreed to promote banking in each other's country. A Pakistani Bank branch will soon begin operating in Romania. The two sides sides also agreed to explore the possibility of investment and joint ventures in various sectors, including the electrical industry, petrochemicals, power projects, cement plants, textiles, the metallurgical industry, automobile assembly lines, rubber, and industrial spare parts. Romania also agreed to provide technical assistance in the production of sunflower seeds.

Officers Accused of Imposter-Related 'Treason'

AU0205124895 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 20-30 Apr 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Two High-Ranking Officers Investigated for Treason"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Two high-ranking officers—namely: Major Mihail Suru, former head of the Timis County Counterintelligence Service, and Major Ionel Smida, an officer of the criminal investigations service of the Caras-Severin County Military Prosecution, are being investigated as defendants at large on charges of treason and passing on military secrets. Although the Timisoara Military Prosecution has ordered the beginning of a criminal inquiry, the case of the two officers was sent to the Bucharest Military Prosecution, as that is the institution authorized to investigate it. From the information currently available to us, it turns out that the two are involved in the scandalous affair of three Italian citizens—Guido Garelli, Pietro Bergese, and Enrico Angelo Tressore—charged with several infractions committed in Romania after they introduced themselves to high-ranking authorities here as UN observers [in the former Yugoslavia]. In that capacity, the three Italians—actually international criminals who had been sentenced by courts both in their own and in other countries—even managed to use a [Romanian] Army helicopter for their purposes. The three crooks claiming to be on a "special monitoring mission" cheated hundreds of high-ranking officials and officers, and caused losses worth billions of lei to the Romanian Finance Ministry and the General Customs Administration.

[The 29-30 April issue of the daily EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian carries on page 8 the following additional information: "On Tuesday, 25 April, at Oravita, began the court trial of the three Italians—Guido Garelli, Pietro Bergese, and Angelo Tressore—who, over two years, by using fake documents and a false identity, made fools of the Romanian authorities. As we already reported in one of our previous issues, claiming to be UN observers or economic consultants, the three managed to hold talks with [former Romanian prime minister] Theodor Stolojan and Mugur Isarescu [governor of the Romanian National Bank], and crossed the border to Yugoslavia countless times for the purpose of smuggling. The dossier of their case sent to court contains 700 pages documenting 11 infractions, from among which we mention: deceit to the detriment of public property with the purpose of perpetrating further infractions, document forging, and use of forged documents. It is worth mentioning that the court also summoned as witnesses Mihai Carabas and Victor Ricu, the mayor and vice mayor, respectively, of the town Moldova Noua [on the FRY border on the Danube River].

"The three culprits appeared in court without any defense attorneys; thus the court had to postpone the trial until 9 May."]

Police Chief Cites Reasons for Crime Increase

AU0305072095 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 27 Apr 95 p 5

[Interview with Lieutenant General Ion Pitulescu, under secretary of state in the Ministry of Interior and chief of the General Police Inspectorate, by Luiza Cristina; place and date not given: "There Is a Trend To Create a Market for Soft Drugs in Romania"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Cristina] To begin with, please give us some statistical data on the evolution of crime from the beginning of the year until now.

[Pitulescu] Statistics are convincing through the dry language of their figures and percentages. From their analysis, one can draw appropriate conclusions and take the necessary steps as a function of the evolution of the

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crime situation. If we do not correctly assess the situation and if we do not stay one step ahead of the criminals, the battle is lost. Some of the former socialist countries are finding themselves in this embarrassing situation today.

Apropos statistics for the first quarter of this year, I can give you a few figures. The police have uncovered 18.5 percent more violations of the law. Violent crime has gone up only 4.9 percent, while infringements against public assets decreased by 10 percent (thefts went down by 7.4 percent). Our offensive against acts of corruption—bribing and acceptance of bribes, unwarranted privileges, and influence-peddling—has continued. [passage omitted] Unfortunately, thefts from private assets have maintained their upward course and went up by 19 percent.

[Cristina] What are the causes of this increase in crime?

[Pitulescu] The causes are diverse and cannot be separated from the inherent difficulties of the transition period. I am referring to social and economic causes, to the fact that the conflicts are, more often than not, caused and aggravated by the consumption of alcohol, and [due] to shortcomings in the education process. In this respect, one should also mention the passivity of certain institutions whose responsibility it is to prevent and fight antisocial deeds. [passage omitted] But the basic causes are the economic and social ones.

[Cristina] What measures were taken to bring down the crime rate?

[Pitulescu] We are striving to contain crime by adjusting our organizational structures to the new trends of the phenomenon. In 1993 we set up a brigade against organized crime, with branches in all counties staffed with out best professionals. Results became immediately apparent in the sphere of drugs, where confiscations increased from 30 kilograms in 1992 to 14 metric tons in 1993-94. We set up specialized compartments to fight corruption and smuggling and reoriented the activity of fighting economic-financial crime by paying due attention to the expanding private sector and the banking sphere, which are extremely important. As a matter of fact, the overall police activity, from the center level down to the counties, has been reorganized. [passage omitted]

[Cristina] What are the most serious situations you have had to face recently?

[Pitulescu] I can give you a very brief answer to this, by pointing out the main problems, namely the traffic with drugs, with the increasing involvement of Romanian citizens and the emergence of drug consumers in high schools and university campuses; the traffic with stolen cars; armed robberies; and the creation of a general state of insecurity. Let us not forget the systematic looting of public assets, including of the nation's cultural patrimony, and, last but not least, the phenomenon of corruption. These are but a few of the serious phenomena with which the Romanian police has to cope with these days.

[Cristina] What is the influence of the international crime rings on the number of violations committed in our country?

[Pitulescu] Among the first ones who profited from the free movement of people were the criminals. [passage omitted]. In 1993, out of the 57 drug traffickers caught, 15 were Romanians; in 1994, out of 85 traffickers caught, 47 were Romanians; and in the first three months of 1995, out of 14 drug traffickers caught, four were our fellow nationals. The recruiting of Romanian citizens by foreign drug networks is a serious development. However, we are more worried by the trend to create a market for soft drugs—hashish and marijuana—in Romania. The drug sale system operates in a similar way to the traffic with stolen cars. [passage omitted]

[Cristina] How do you assess the "phenomenon of anonymous telephones" and what concrete measures have been taken to diminish and even stop it?

[Pitulescu] This psychosis of anonymous telephones, which announced the alleged placing of various bombs ready to go off, has emerged after the car explosion in Suceava [in March 1995]. That incident has unfortunately put the idea of anonymous phone calls into the minds of certain people. Fortunately, all the alarms todate have proven to be false. [passage omitted]

[Cristina] What body within the General Police Inspectorate deals with the traffic of fuel across the Danube? What conclusions and results have been reached after due investigations were conducted in the matter?

[Pitulescu] Police units in the border area are active in this respect and they cooperated closely with the border guards and gendarme units. The General Police Inspectorate has initiated and coordinated—through its specialized departments, such as the crime fighting, economic-financial, guard and order, transport, and road policing departments—a number of actions, which yielded good results.

[Cristina] Can this traffic be stopped?

[Pitulescu] I believe it can be done only after adequate legislation is passed and the Ministry of Interior personnel operating in the area is supplied further equipment.

[Cristina] What is the overall situation in the General Police Inspectorate?

[Pitulescu] Some progress has been made in increasing our personnel. Likewise, we have enlarged our police car pool and acquired more computers. However, we are deficient in transmission devices, while the crime detection devices are also rather outdated. Still, we realized

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that we must show understanding for the difficulties experienced by the entire society and must therefore be patient. On the other hand, I am not so sure that the criminals will also have the patience to wait it out. [passage omitted]

[Cristina] "Romania is a vulnerable zone" and "we are in the penultimate place in Europe as far as the number of policemen is concerned." These two remarks were heard during a recent news conference at the Ministry of Interior. Would you like to comment on that?

[Pitulescu] These are true facts that we must take into account when working out our strategy on preventing and fighting crime. We are situated in a region where the drug traffickers are trying to build a "bridge" between the East and the West by reactivating the route crossing Romania because of the war in Yugoslavia. The cars stolen from West Europe often cross our country. The fall of the old regime and the conditions offered by the transition period have turned us into an "El Dorado" for the crooks. [passage omitted]

Regarding the second part of your question, we have on average one policeman for 500 inhabitants and, in certain counties and municipalities, one for each 700-800 inhabitants. [passage omitted] For the time being, we cannot compare with the majority of the European states, where the average ratio is one policeman for each 200-300 inhabitants. As for the level of equipment, we cannot compare with them at all. At this stage, we can compare with them only from the viewpoint of professionalism and devotion. The results obtained by the Romanian police in finding out the perpetrators of crimes exceed 80 percent and, in the case of extremely serious crimes of violence, even reach to 96-98 percent. I would like to emphasize, though, that the human effort alone is no longer enough. Fortunately, Romania has devoted policemen who are good professionals.

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UN Suspects Sarajevo Involved in Zagreb Mission

AU0205174795 Paris AFP in English 1721 GMT 2 May 95

[Report by Peter Cunliffe-Jones]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, May 2 (AFP)—Croatia's military strike against secessionist Serbs hiked concern Tuesday [2 May] in Bosnia but diplomats here played down the chances of an immediate spill-over of fighting into the neighboring republic.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic "doesn't want the whole place to go up in flames just because of the Croatian Serbs," a senior diplomat at a western embassy told AFP.

UN Protection Force spokesman Alexander Ivanko said he suspected there was some military coordination between Bosnia and Croatia in the two-day offensive, which the Zagreb government said had ended Tuesday. But the diplomat said this did not mean that the Bosnian Serbs would strike back against the Bosnian Government over an offensive launched in Croatia by the Croatians.

"You'll have noted how long Karadzic spent complaining" to UN envoy Yasushi Akashi about the offensive when they met outside Sarajevo on Monday, the diplomat said. "Karadzic's track record suggests that when he spends his time complaining it is because he is not particularly planning to do anything." [passage omitted]

Bosnian Serb forces have regularly shelled Croatian positions and on Monday shelled the Croatian coastal town of Dubrovnik. Croatian Serb forces have also fought the Bosnian Army in the northwest Bihac pocket. "Experience has shown that there is sufficient cooperation by both the (Croatian separatist) Krajina Serb military command and the Bosnian Serb army command," Ivanko noted.

"Now they are starting to see the same principle applied in reverse," a western diplomat said Tuesday, referring to joint operations run recently by Bosnian Croat and government forces. Observers noted that Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic had held talks with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb at the weekend, just two days before the Croatians launched their operation Monday.

"They can't have talked about just nothing," a Western diplomat commented. With the expiry of a four-month ceasefire in Bosnia Monday the situation was tense in places, but there was little was happening on the ground, a UN spokesman said. [passage omitted]

The UN was aware of no unusual troop movements such as Croatian Serb troops in the Bihac enclave of Bosnia pulling back towards Croatia, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] spokesman Major Herve Gourmelon said. Military analysts in Bosnia over the weekend said that fears of renewed full-scale war in the country were exaggerated even if strategic and tactical struggles for positions were likely to continue, playing for ground as negotiations at an international level continue. [passage omitted]

3,000 Serb Refugees Heading for Banja Luka

LD0205141395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1330 GMT 2 May 95

[Received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 2 May (TANJUG)—Over the past 24 hours, 340 Serb refugees from Western Slavonia have arrived in Banja Luka. Most of them have found accomodations with their relatives and friends while organized accomodations has been provided for 40 refugees, Rade Bojic, the commissioner for refugees for the Banja Luka municipality has told SRNA.

According to him, another 3,000 Serbs are heading for Banja Luka along the road from Gradiska. [passage omitted]

Air Strike Kills 4; Belgrade Reinforcements

LD0205135695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1320 GMT 2 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Knin, 2 May (SRNA)—Four civilians, including a three-year-old girl, were killed in a Croatian Air Force attack on Bosanska Gradiska in the Srpska republic this morning. Scores of civilians were wounded and the number of missing under the ruins of residential buildings is rising by the hour. [passage omitted]

The situation in Bosanska Gradiska is tense, several bombs were dropped on the hospital and the people are in their shelters. [passage omitted]

Dusan Pozic who fled from Gradiska to Banjaluka today said that the residential area of Senjak and the hospital were on fire and that columns of people were moving towards the central parts of the Srpska republic. [passage omitted]

Colonel Milivojevic from the Serb Krajina army's Western Slavonia Corps told TV Knin this morning that more than 1,500 volunteers who had left Belgrade last night arrived in Krajina and were deployed on the frontline. [passage omitted]

Owen Discusses Cease-Fire, Croatian Attack

MS0205124395 London BBC Television Network in English 2135 GMT 1 May 95

[Interview with David Owen, EU envoy in former Yugoslavia, by presenter Peter Snow; time and place not given; from the "Newsnight" program—recorded]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Snow] How near do you think we are now to an outbreak of general fighting in Bosnia and Croatia?

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[Owen] It looks pretty ominous this evening, I mean the fighting in Croatia is particularly dangerous. It will almost inevitably affect the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it could well drive the Croatian Serbs and the Bosnian Serbs to come together politically and militarily which would be very dangerous, and a lot depends on how effective the Security Council are in the next few hours, and how strongly the Americans and the Germans, who have, I suppose, the most to lose because it was they who were instrumental in brokering the agreement to keep the UN on in Croatia.

[Snow] Is there any effective pressure that, for example, Germany and America can bring to bear on Croatia to stop this?

[Owen] Oh yes, Croatia is a government that wants membership of the European Union, it wants to be associated with NATO that wants to have close relations with all the democracies, and I think they've just got to be flatly told that your word matters, that this is not acceptable. There was an incident on the motorway, people were killed, it was started off almost as a brawl at the weekend, and the motorway was closed by the Croatian Serbs. That was an unwise thing to do, but it doesn't justify this response, and they have to be told that very clearly, and I hope they will be.

[Snow] Turning to Bosnia, do you think there is any point in British and other UN troops staying in Bosnia with the cease-fire collapsing?

[Owen] For some months there's been a real question mark about whether the UN are effectively prolonging the war by feeding the armies and also by keeping a sort of atmosphere where the political parties are not forced to compromise. Now it's a very difficult thing to come out but the UN has come out of other areas, it came out of Somalia, and it may just have to accept that we're not able to remain on the ground, and that we'll have to accept that they may fight, and probably as a result of the fighting the compromises on territory will eventually merge, but we could see a very ugly situation. Particularly worrying is what's happening in Croatia. I strongly believe the UN should stay in Croatia.

[Snow] So you're saying there's nothing we can do anymore effectively by staying in Bosnia?

[Owen] I've always believed that we could possibly justify another couple of months before doing that if we thought we could get into political talks, but at the moment it has to be said the Contact Group nations themselves don't seem ready to get into talks. Their plan, their map has been on the table since July of last year, there have been no negotiations, their discussions have been over a form of words to enter into negotiations. Now we can't get the parties around table, then it is questionable whether there is a role for us and better to come out in the summer months...

[Snow, interrupting] Now this has been a failure for your own efforts at mediation, hasn't it. You've failed too?

[Owen] Well, obviously if you judge a peaceful settlement by actually getting a negotiated peace, we have failed. If you judge it by containing the war, that has been a partial success. Also during this period the Muslim forces have improved their strength, their training, they've got many more arms. You could say now it's a more even fight, the world has given the Bosnian Government, if you like, time to recoup it's strength, time to stand, and now they must make their own decisions. If they want to go on fighting, if they want their country to be a sort of Lebanon for years to come, we can't stop them. I know this sounds awful, that the world should be able to settle these things, but the world can only do that if they're ready to be combatants on the ground. They are not, the world wasn't even ready to go in with really strong peacekeeping forces and implement the Vance-Owen peace plan. The fact of the matter is that the world, the international community is strong on rhetoric but rather weak on action. Perhaps we've got to recognize that.

Ganic: International Pressure on Milosevic

AU0305110095 Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 2 May 95 p 10

[Interview with Ejup Ganic, vice president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, by Erich Rathfelder in Jablanica on 29 April: "We Are on the Right Track!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rathfelder] The international community has been pressuring your government to extend the cease-fire agreement. What is your decision?

[Ganic] We have concluded several agreements to calm down the situation in Sarajevo. In February 1994, an agreement was concluded with Karadzic's Serbs to stop the shelling of the city. In addition, we concluded an agreement on the "blue routes" (routes that the warring factions cleared for UN supplies). That means there is a framework for reaching a more stable situation.

The international community now has to pressure Karadzic's Serbs and Milosevic. Especially Milosevic. If he recognized Bosnia-Herzegovina, we could extend a cease-fire agreement, because we think that the occupation of large parts of the Bosnian territory would not be considered as a given fact then. In that case, Karadzic's Serbs could not be sure whether they can maintain the status quo in the occupied territories. But if we extended the cease-fire agreement, Karadzic would understand this as recognizing the occupation for another four months. And, after the deadline has expired, the international community would increase its pressure on us to extend the cease-fire. That would amount to the Cyprus model.

We will not extend the cease-fire now to enable the international community to finally push through the Contact Group's plan. If it is accepted that Karadzic gets the occupation of 70 percent of the country confirmed every four months, any peace process becomes irrelevant.

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[Rathfelder] What is the alternative?

[Ganic] The alternative is that everything stays the way it is.

[Rathfelder] There are allegations that the Bosnian Army is planning to free Sarajevo and the enclaves.

[Ganic] There have been such allegations for the past three years. One day, when we are up to it, we will do it, but not now. We need arms, we are not strong enough militarily to free Sarajevo. We are not planning an offensive once the cease-fire expires; not much will happen.

[Rathfelder] You achieved a couple of military successes over the past few weeks. How do you see the situation around the Posavina corridor near Brcko, the most important strategic point for all the occupied territories, both in Bosnia and Croatia. If you succeed in cutting through this corridor, the major part of the Serbian-occupied territories would be isolated from Serbia. But for such an action, Bosnia would need Croatia's help. Will Croatia support an action of that kind?

[Ganic] Karadzic's Serbs have recently attacked Brcko, we supported the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], and we pushed back the Serbian forces together. Such successes weld us together. Part of the front line in Bosnia-Herzegovina is held by the Croatian HVO.

[Rathfelder] Do you expect any support from the international community or the United States?

[Ganic] Diplomatically yes, militarily no. We have been demanding the lifting of the arms embargo for a long time.

[Rathfelder] Have you ever lost your courage?

[Ganic] No, never. I think we are on the right track. We have saved the country in a certain way, we are a recognized nation, a member of the United Nations, our army has become strong. We cannot be destroyed, and it is simply a matter of time before things will take a decisive turn.

[Rathfelder] Do you believe in a Bosnia-Herzegovina that reaches from the Drina River to Mostar and Bihac?

[Ganic] Yes, I think that Bosnia will survive the war and Bosnia will exist as a whole. We have never accepted the division plans for Bosnia, and we have a strong army. Also, its own interests will prevent the international community from agreeing to a division of the country. This would have an effect on other regions, many powers would want to change borders. That would lead to new wars. Nobody can want that.

[Rathfelder] What progress is being achieved in the Croat-Bosnian federation? There has been criticism in Mostar that EU Administrator Hans Koschnick is establishing two independent cities that are divided by a new "Berlin Wall."

[Ganic] No, that is not the idea in Mostar, I do not think so. Things are progressing slowly with the Federation, the radicals are gradually being pushed back. I think that one day they will take their money and disappear.

[Rathfelder] Does the Federation have a bigger chance the stronger the Bosnian Army becomes?

[Ganic] I think the army will eventually become stronger and stronger. But what is decisive is that the majority of Croats are in favor of the Federation, not just the majority of Muslims. The Federation is the only way, more and more people realize that. And since it is being supported by Germany and the United States, it is gaining strength from outside.

[Rathfelder] Back in January, Croatian President Tudjman was still playing a double game by advocating the Federation on the one hand and having secret talks with Milosevic on the division of Bosnia on the other. Do you think that this double game is over now?

[Ganic] I hope so.

[Rathfelder] What is your opinion on the The Hague War Crimes Tribunal investigating against Karadzic and other war crimes suspects?

[Ganic] This is a positive step; the Serbian people will now have to consider what this means. After all, the international community can put these people on trial, thus sending a message to Bosnia: War crimes are persecuted after all. That is a step toward peace.

[Rathfelder] Whom do you consider to be the friends of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Ganic] We do not have any military allies. We have friends who are concerned, but who do not give us any military help. That means all those who cannot really help are with us.

[Rathfelder] And all those who could give military assistance, are neutral?

[Ganic] Yes, all those who could help us remain neutral. That is the way things are, unfortunately.

Karadzic Vows To Defend RSK, Unite Serbs

AU0305073695 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 2 May 95

[Report by Vedran Skoro over video on plenary session of the Serb Democratic Party in Pale on 2 May, including interview with RS President Radovan Karadzic by unidentified correspondents]

[FBIS Translated Text] The plenary session of the Serbian Democratic Party of Serb Lands [SDS SZ] began in Pale today. The session discussed the current situation in the country and the functioning of state bodies in the present circumstances. The second plenary session of the SDS SZ—attended by members of the Central and Executive Committees, presidents of municipal and

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coordinating committees, and presidents of municipal assemblies—is supposed to discuss defense preparations in the country.

[Skoro] Before today's SDS SZ plenary session began, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic [RS] and SDS SZ president, said that the new war on the territory of the western-most Serb state that was initiated by Croatian forces and the impermissible behavior of the international community have radically changed the military and political situation in our republic and added:

[Karadzic] Croatia is pounding our cities as well: Dubica, especially Gradiska, where seven people have already been killed. Of course, their attack on the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] is a shameless act, in violation of all signed agreements. And they are even attacking the Srpska republic, which has done absolutely nothing to provoke it. That attack clearly shows that, even if we did not want to unite, our enemy forces us to unite, for they treat us absolutely equally. That, of course, puts us under an obligation to defend Western Slavonia, to regain every inch their soldiers seized. They attacked it with large forces: 15,000 people, that is a small corps. That is no incident, no action. That is a real operation that has been planned carefully and for a long time and carried out before the eyes of the entire international community. Now we no longer have any obligations to the Security Council resolution, nor to international organizations, especially to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]. We must defend ourselves. And nobody will stand in our way, if we must take our weapons and if we must take some positions from which we will be able to defend our people. The Security Council has lost credibility, the UN forces, UNPROFOR are good for nothing, we should not rely upon them. After all, we did not let them protect us. Unfortunately, they protected the Serb Krajina, but we can see how they did it.

[Correspondent] Croatia occupied Jasenovac seven days before the marking of the victory day.

[Karadzic] I believe they are afraid of Jasenovac, for they cannot have a clear conscience as long as Jasenovac exists. I hear they blew up the stone flower [monument in Jasenovac]. That shows that they want to eliminate every trace of their crime, of the crime of the former regime, of the Independent State of Croatia, which enjoyed the support of the overwhelming majority of people, of the Catholic Church, etc. They cannot eliminate the traces that easily. Also, we will get Jasenovac back. I am not sure we will be able to go ahead with the program that we prepared for the celebration, with Patriarch Pavle, from 7 to 11 May, but we will organize the celebration somewhere else and we will not forget our victims.

[Correspondent] The Supreme Command was in session last night. Will there be some concrete steps?

[Karadzic] We discussed the situation and reached agreement, made orders in order to help, to defend the Serb Krajina. I think that some steps have already been made this morning at Mt. Dinara. The RSK Army and our forces seized some positions. However, we must react to the events in Western Slavonia. Apart from members of the General Staff, the session was attended by commanders of corps, and they all went away to carry out their missions. We are very determined to defend every Serb and every Serb village.

[Skoro] Looking back at the items on the agenda of today's plenary session, President Karadzic said that it was necessary to convene the session in order to consider the balance of the party's five-year activities and to view the present situation in the Srpska republic so that, at this delicate moment, they could make the right choices with the goal of preserving the country, democracy, and freedom.

At the beginning of the SDS SZ plenary session, RS president presented a report on the military and political situation in our republic and emphasized that the main goal of the SDS SZ is to defend the Srpska republic and make preparations for its unification with other Serb lands. Having said that the party managed to harmonize its relations and to preserve the political individuality of every member, President Karadzic said that such a relation should be established throughout the republic. Emphasizing that the rousing of the national awareness of the Serb nation and the preserving of its unity achieved through national reconciliation is the party's great success, President Karadzic said that our country was saved by 1.4 million citizens, who did not abandon it. Speaking about the military and political situation, the RS president said that the latest cease-fire had dire repercussions on the political scene and that it had produced the forces of leftist orientation that are attacking our achievements and are in contact with forces outside the republic to exert strong pressure to accept the Contact Group plan.

[Karadzic] We must reiterate our view that the acceptance of the Contact Group plan is a catastrophe, that we are certain that, even if we withdrew to the borders set by the Contact Group, the war would not end, that it would only continue under absolutely adverse circumstances for our side.

[Skoro] Concluding his report, the RS president pointed out that, at today's plenary session, the SDS SZ must make a choice and create a priority list, define its orientation, let people know that we take good care about them and that we did not relinquish our goals that are slowly being realized. Velibor Ostojic, president of the SDS SZ Executive Committee, submitted a report at today's plenary session on the activities and future goals of the SDS SZ, and emphasized three priority goals: defending the nation and the country, developing the state and its institutions, and reinforcing the party with new members and improved organization. The discussion on those issues continues behind closed doors.

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UBHSD Warns of Possibility of 'Major War'

AU0205151995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 May 95

[Report by unidentified correspondent on UBHSD news conference Sarajevo on 2 May]

[FBIS Translated Text] At a regular news conference of the Union of Social Democrats of Bosnia-Herzegovina [UBHSD] today, Deputy President Miodrag Jankovic and (?Dzevad Ibrahimovic), head of the party's City Committee, addressed journalists on the current political and military situation.

Since no peace solution could be found in four months, it would be even more difficult to do in four days, (?Ibrahimovic) said. This means that a major war could break out. This is indicated by the latest war operations in Croatia, where President Tudjman is trying to take back by force what he had not been able to do through peaceful means.

Although the UBHSD primarily strives for a peaceful solution, we do not accept peace at any price. If the international community does not stand behind its resolutions and take a firmer stand against Karadzic's Serbs, there is another option, that of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croatian Defense Council liberating the captured territories in a counteroffensive.

The current operations by the Croatian Army will relieve the defense of the Bihac region. Our advantage in manpower and combat morale guarantee that we will (?arrive) in freedom.

The UBHSD welcomes the convening of the Constituent Assembly in Travnik. However, as the deadlines for the implementation of the obligations undertaken have expired, questions should be raised about the responsibility of the leading people in the Federation.

Former UN Commander on UN Role in Bosnia

MS0305095295 London THE GUARDIAN in English 3 May 95 p 17

[Article by General Sir Michael Rose, former UN commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina: "The UN Can Only Do So Much in Bosnia"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The ending this week of the cessation of hostilities in former Yugoslavia, without a political agreement being reached regarding a permanent end to the war, marks another tragic lost opportunity.

Although the Bosnian Government did reluctantly agree to the Contact Group plan for a division of its country on a 51:49 per cent basis, the Bosnian Serbs did not accept this. The Bosnian Government believes that time is on its side, and that the strategic balance is tilting at an ever-increasing rate in its favour. It is also fearful that too long a prolongation of a cessation of hostilities would represent a de facto, and possible long-term, recognition of the present lines of conflict.

The Pale leadership clearly has yet to learn that, although the world may not be prepared to fight a war on behalf of the Bosnian Government, the Bosnian Serb army is already overstretched, sanctions are hurting, and that to delay a peace settlement might cost them all that they have hitherto gained.

Thus the consequences of current military political thinking on all sides in Bosnia is likely to result in a renewed and more intense level of fighting. It is doubtful if this will obtain any significant change for any side in the short term, but the results of the fighting will inevitably be visited on the heads of the already too long suffering population. And the UN will be called in once again to pick up the pieces.

Sadly, in the 50th year of UN peacekeeping operations, the perceived failures and costs of the UN mission in former Yugoslavia, and recent experiences in Somalia, have led to widespread disillusionment. Yet if the world loses faith in peacekeeping, and responses to the challenges of the new world disorder are thereby limited to the extremes of total war or total peace, the world will become a more dangerous place.

Rather than lose faith in the whole peace process, we need to analyse the changed operational circumstances and try to determine new doctrines for the future. The last thing we want in Sarajevo are the scenes we saw in Grozny.

The UN mission to former Yugoslavia has provided the basis of a new approach to peacekeeping—and when measured against its mandate, the achievements have been heroic and significant. In the midst of a bloody civil war, populations have been sustained through a programme of aid delivery, and the conditions created which would allow a peaceful end to the war. The UN is operating predominantly in a humanitarian role, but in conditions of civil war. A much greater level of military enforcement has been expected than has traditionally been the case in peacekeeping or humanitarian aid missions.

The Security Council's mandate defines not only the international community's aspirations, but also the limitations of its action. On the one hand there exists the hope that the people of former Yugoslavia can be sustained; on the other is the fear that nations may become embroiled in wider conflict. This fear has resulted in an outright refusal by the international community to intervene militarily.

Nor is it logical or sensible to try to exorcise feelings of moral guilt and frustration by accusing the UN of presiding over genocide, or by attempting to use the mechanisms of peacekeeping to impose international will on the Serbs. Once a military force has deployed in a humanitarian aid role, it is precluded from acting as an

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occupying power. It cannot be used to alter the military balance in a civil war, modify political goals of one party or another, or even attempt to enforce the passage of a convoy—for these are pure acts of war.

Historically, the greatest difficulties facing the mission in Bosnia have been caused as a result of the expectation of the use of force by Unprofor beyond that which is required for self defence. On all such occasions the UN clearly had no alternative although there was a suspicion the Bosnian Serbs had in some cases engineered the situation to obtain images of their being attacked by the UN. The effect of these incidents, none of which was instigated by UNPROFOR, [UN Protection Force] was to reduce to nil the flow of aid through Serb-held areas to the Muslim peoples. When force is used, people start to die of starvation.

Bringing in NATO in support of a UN peacekeeping mission was a major achievement. Without NATO, the UN mission in Bosnia would have failed.

But there exist obvious limitations on the use of air power in any confused civil war situation. It simply is not militarily possible to secure safe areas or enforce the passage of convoys by the use of air power alone.

There is also a need for a campaign plan to ensure close co-ordination between political and security action, and the humanitarian aid delivery mission. It is obviously easier to deliver aid in a benign security environment than when fierce battles rages.

If the lesson from all this is that the co-ordination between political action and peacekeeping and humanitarian action will lead to progress, then the reverse is also true—for a UN mission cannot continue forever to perform successfully in a political vacuum.

But a peacekeeping force cannot allow itself to be hijacked by political pressures and become militarily involved in conflict. It has a clear responsibility to those nations which have voluntarily contributed soldiers as peacekeepers. The UN must not allow these courageous young men and women to be returned to their homes in body bags. All the gains made on the security front will be lost if momentum is not maintained and political solutions are not found.

Let us hope that there will be a return to the negotiating table in the near future. The UN can only provide the conditions in which there can be a peaceful resolution of the war. It cannot itself provide those solutions.

Local UN Hires Investigated for Spying

AU0205193995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In the course of their regular duties, the security services of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Ministry of Internal Affairs have launched an investigation into the activities of Tomislav Bensun, born in 1955 in Sarajevo, Predrag Misic, born in 1957 in Tuzla, Ljiljana Miletic, born in 1954 in Sarajevo, and Naser Heldov, born in 1958 in Sarajevo. They are suspected of being involved in anti-Bosnia-Herzegovina activities since 1992 as locally hired UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] staff.

During the investigation so far, Bensun, Misic, and Miletic have admitted to maintaining contacts with the [Bosnian Serb] aggressor's liaison officers, Milenko (?Nindjic) and Branko Luladzija, and the counterintelligence officers Marko Lugonja, Milorad Bukva, Hans Kos, Colonel Stevo Bogojevic, and Nenad Vuksan, as well as a member of the state security of Karadzic's parastate, Nenad Vlaskin.

Following their instructions, the suspects were collecting intelligence data on the free territory, misappropriating vehicles and other equipment, and taking them over to the temporarily occupied territory.

Naser Heldov was also involved in the misappropriation of equipment, theft, smuggling, and the illegal transfer of persons of Serbian nationality to the temporarily occupied territory. The investigation is nearing completion, after which the appropriate bodies will decide on the further course of action.

Health Committee Issues Casualty Statistics

AU0205145695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] During the four-month cease-fire in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 144 were killed and 761 wounded. Ten of those killed were children and of those wounded, 38 were children. This was reported by the Republican Committee for Health and Social Security.

Last week, the number of civilian casualties also rose in the so-called protected areas. The worst situation was in Sarajevo, where six people were killed and 24 wounded.

In the aggression so far, 146,379 people have been killed or are registered as missing. Of these 16,748 are children. In Sarajevo, 10,112 people were killed. Of these, 1,574 are children. The aggressor continues to tighten the blockade around the capital city of Bosnia-Herzegovina. As Sarajevo Airport cannot be used, hunger and disease again threaten the citizens, the Republican Committee for Health reports.

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Majevica Clashes Abate After Serb Losses

AU0205190595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The fierce fighting, in which members of the 2d Corps of our army were involved yesterday and today, checking the chetnik offensive on the Majevica and Posavina fronts, has subsided today. The reason for that are the chetniks' enormous losses, heavy rain, and reduced visibility. [passage omitted]

Report of FRY Reinforcements Heading for Front

LD0205165095 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 2 May 95

[Nedeljko Nedic report from Orasje]

[FBIS Translated Text] Serb infantry have been engaged in constant armed provocations on the Orasje-Samac front over the past 24 hours. They have fired mortars of all calibres, antiaircraft guns and infantry weapons along the front. Particularly intensive firing was recorded on the eastern part of the front. Today has seen more intense provocations by the Serb aggressor from all available weapons.

The movement of Serb military vehicles along the so-called corridor—the Bijeljina-Brcko-Loncari-Bosanski Samac route—has also increased. Reconnaissance teams of the Bosnian Croat forces report huge columns of buses, trucks, and gas tankers coming from the so-called the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], with the aim of helping their imperilled brothers on this front.

Our soldiers are firmly holding all the front lines and watchfully observing all movements by the enemy. They are also ready to respond fiercely in the event of any possible attack by the chetniks.

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President's Office Announces End to Operation

LD0205133295 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a statement from the office of the president of Republic of Croatia:

Croatian police forces and units of the Croatian Army have ended their operation to open the highway and railway line through the areas of Western Slavonia that were occupied until today, the statement from the president's office says. The armed Serbs have ceased to put up organized resistance while Croatian authority has been restored in Okucani.

At 1400 [1200 GMT], negotiations began on the surrender of the last large group of armed Serbs in the Pakrac area.

Deputy Prime Minister Ivica Kostovic has personally visited these areas and given assurances to citizens of Serb nationality, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Croatia and of President Franjo Tudjman, that all their civic rights will be guaranteed, while armed individuals, excluding war criminals, will be pardoned, the statement says in conclusion.

Statement: Whole of Western Slavonia 'Liberated'

LD0205230395 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 2 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Now listen to a statement just in:

Late this evening a session of the Defense and National Security Council was held in the Presidential Palace chaired by Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia.

Introducing the meeting, the president of the Republic confirmed that the constabulary and military action to open the roads had been completed. The whole of Western Slavonia has thus been liberated. The occupied area has been significantly reduced by this action. In other words, just over 17 percent of the land area is still occupied, or 11 percent of the total area of the Republic of Croatia.

The action was carried out in the time envisaged with relatively small losses. The president paid special tribute to the heads of the defense and internal affairs' formations.

Ministers Susak and Jarnjak demonstrated exceptionally good cooperation between the two ministries, both in terms of coordination of commands and in operational and logistical terms.

After the setting up of a police station in Jasenovac today, Minister Jarnjak hinted at the opening tomorrow of two police stations in Pakrac and Okucani.

Deputy Prime Minister Ivica Kostovic reported to those present on the ending of the talks that he had with the leaders of the armed Serbs in the area of Pakrac and the agreement on deadlines for the handing over of their weapons.

The council was also informed about this morning's terrorist attack on Zagreb, which was hit by six cluster bombs, four of which landed in the very center of the city. Five people were killed and 134 injured. One hundred and fifty cars and one tram were destroyed. The greatest damage was caused in the very center of the city, and 20 houses in the village of Pleso were damaged. The damage has been estimated at about 20 million kuna. After the attack, the emergency services, the fire brigade [passage indistinct]

Details of Serb Surrender in Pakrac Supplied

LD0205183495 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 2 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Pakrac was somewhat more peaceful today. Our correspondent Ana Mudric has a report:

[Mudric] We have given guarantees by the Croatian president and the Croatian Government to the encircled members of the Serb nationality that if they surrender arms and accept the Croatian authorities they will enjoy all the guaranteed human rights and freedoms that belong to them. This is what Ivica Kostovic, Croatian deputy prime minister and Croatian President Tudjman's envoy for negotiations with the Serbs in this area, stated shortly before this news bulletin.

In talks that were attended by representatives of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Croatian Army, and UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia], we have agreed that all heavy weapons should be surrendered within 24 hours, by 1800 [1600 GMT] tomorrow and that the UNCRO-supervised process of disarmament should be completed within the next five days. This applies to an entire brigade which currently controls the hilly forested area of Psunj. The process of disarmament has already begun: the first group has already handed over their weapons. This is a historical example of the police action being followed by the beginning of the peaceful process of reintegration, Deputy Prime Minister Kostovic said. [passage omitted]

General Outlines Successes in Western Slavonia

LD0205215095 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 2 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Branko Kuna reporting for Croatian Radio from Nova Gradiska:

It can now be said with certainty that the action to liberate Western Slavonia and lift the blockade of the motorway has been completed. This is also borne out by a statement by Major General Petar Stipetic:

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[Begin Stipetic recording] [word indistinct] very favorable. We have just now, at 2000 [1800 GMT] hours, fully completed our planned operation and reached the river Sava; in other words, the state border of the Republic of Croatia. Thus the job carried out by the constabulary and the Croatian Army has been completed.

I am overjoyed that this was carried out very successfully and that we have liberated a significant part of Croatian territory. I am proud of all particpants in this operation—both the soldiers and members of the Interior Ministry, who have [words indistinct] the part of the task. And I can tell you that the results are very favorable. Apart from the success we have achieved in liberating this area, we have also captured a significant amount of military equipment from these occupiers, a large amount of ammunition, so we have a significant amount of war booty. We have driven the aggressor out, and this part of Croatia is free. [end recording]

[Kuna] A short while ago I returned from Okucani. From the direction of Pakrac explosions could still be heard.

[Begin Stipetic recording] Some of the aggressors' soldiers have been cut off on the slopes of Mt. Psunj in the Pakrac area. They are firmly hemmed in. They have no prospects of getting out. They can only surrender and accept the request of the Government of the Republic of Croatia and act in accordance with this request. They will be guaranteed treatment in accordance with the (?positive) regulations of the Republic of Croatia. All those who have not committed war crimes are guaranteed a pardon, provided they hand over their weapons. Those who have committed such crimes will answer for them before the judicial authorities of the Republic of Croatia. [end recording]

Interview With Deputy Foreign Minister Sanader

LD0305115295 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0515 GMT 3 May 95

[Telephone interview with Ivo Sanader, deputy foreign minister, in Zagreb, by Dietmar Timm, from the Deutschlandfunk studio—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Timm] I now welcome Ivo Sanader, Croatian deputy foreign minister, on the telephone in Zagreb. Good morning in Zagreb.

[Sanader] Good morning in Germany.

[Timm] Mr. Sanader, can you say definitely this morning that the military operation is finished?

[Sanader] Yes, we announced this yesterday afternoon and it is correct.

[Timm] Does this mean that you will not accede to the U.S. demand to withdraw to the border agreed as part of the cease-fire?

[Sanader] First, that is out of the question; and second, there is no such demand.

[Timm] But the pressure from abroad was strong, particularly yesterday, urging you to end this military operation as soon as possible and to reestablish the situation agreed under the cease-fire. Was it really planned as a limited operation, or did you yield to foreign pressure?

[Sanader] No, we made it clear through diplomatic channels before the operation that it would be a limited operation. From the start, and also yesterday, we informed important politicians on the international scene, including German Foreign Minister Kinkel, by telephone that it will be finished in a day.

[Timm] What was the actual reason for the military operation? Was the objective really only to gain control of this stretch of motorway, or was it the realization that the negotiations with the Krajina Serbs are not achieving anything?

[Sanader] Both, but primarily the first: control over the motorway. After all, it was the main success of the negotiations over the last few months. You know that on 2 December last year we signed a so-called economic agreement with the Croatian Serbs. On the basis of this agreement the Zagreb-Belgrade motorway was opened, once again linking Central Europe with Athens. The next step was to be the opening of the Zagreb-Belgrade railway line, but then there were several terrorist attacks in which several people were killed. We warned the Serbs that if they did not guarantee the security of the motorway and continued to carry out terrorist attacks on civilian cars, carrying civilians—Croats and Serbs and other nationalities, many people from Germany, guest workers who are not actually from Croatia but who travel through Croatia to their home countries—if they did not guarantee their security and continued their attacks in this area that they were controlling, that we would take control of the motorway to ensure the security of all cars using it. We have done this, and now Croatian Interior Ministry forces are controlling the whole motorway and also the railway line. We are planning to open the motorway route and the Zagreb-Belgrade railway line today, in the next few hours, or perhaps days.

[Timm] But Mr. Sanader, are you not playing with fire? Many people now fear that the war could once again extend to the whole area of former Yugoslavia. Yesterday missiles were fired at Zagreb for the first time since November 1993. The Serbs had threatened this. Is not there a danger of a new escalation?

[Sanader] You see, the situation in Croatia is as follows: The fact is that a sovereign state, which has been recognized by the whole world, has been tolerating an occupation within its internationally recognized borders for four years now. The international community is helpless, and the mandate of the UN soldiers so far has not achieved anything. We took a further step two months ago when we accepted the continuing presence of a much smaller number of UN soldiers in Croatia with a changed mandate. We were hoping to achieve a peaceful

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reintegration of the temporarily occupied areas in Croatia. But as this is not happening, which can be seen on the motorway issue, Croatia—the Croatian Government, just like any other government in this world—has the right and the duty to ensure the security of its citizens on its sovereign territory.

I am saying this because reports, yours and others, talk about a Krajina again and again. There is no Krajina, there is the Republic of Croatia and there is a temporarily occupied area within this republic, this republic recognized under international law, which is recognized by the whole world apart from Belgrade, apart from this Yugoslavia which continues to support the rebel Serbs in Croatia. Therefore, one cannot.... [Sanader pauses] We will continue—and that is why we said from the start that this is a limited operation—we will continue the negotiations with the Croatian Serbs. We want to achieve the next step in these negotiations; this was also mentioned by your report earlier: It is very important to reopen the Zagreb-Split railway line via Knin. This line is so important because all of southern Croatia, including Dalmatia—the German listeners know this area very well because it is the Adriatic coast—is cut off. There are no road links. One must drive via Rijeka and the whole Adriatic coast to get to Split or Dubrovnik or to Dalmatia. This means that the next step should be the opening of the Zagreb-Knin-Split railway line. These are all steps to which we have agreed in principle with the representatives of the Serbs in the occupied areas. There is also a time frame, but unfortunately the events on the motorway have shown that there are also different opinions among the Croatian Serbs.

[Timm] Mr. Sanader, it is time for the news here. Thank you for talking to us. That was Ivo Sanader, Croatian deputy foreign minister. Thanks and goodby to Zagreb.

3 Detonations in Zagreb Center, 4 at Airport

AU0305113795 Paris AFP in English 1056 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, May 3 (AFP)—Seven or eight powerful detonations thought to be caused by shells or rockets rocked central Zagreb Wednesday.

At 12:10 p.m. (1010 GMT) ambulances were spotted rushing through the Croatian capital and the radio called on people to head for air raid shelters. The explosions resounded in central Zagreb.

UN soldiers questioned by AFP at their headquarters in Zagreb said three shells or rockets had fallen on the city centre and four others were fired at Zagreb-Pleso airport located about 10 kilometres (six miles) to the south. It was not yet known if there were casualties. Police vehicles fitted with loudspeakers cruised through the streets calling on the population to take cover.

On Tuesday, Serb secessionists in Krajina fired five Orkan rockets armed with fragmentation bombs at this city of 1 million people, killing five people and leaving 121 wounded. The Serbs whose frontlines are only 60 kilometres (42 miles) from the city, attacked the capital apparently in retaliation for a Croatian offensive launched on Monday on a Serb enclave in eastern Croatia.

'Thick Black Smoke' Reported

AU0305113095 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1100 GMT 3 May 95

[Report by Ilinka Todorovski from Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Currently, there is a general alarm in the town. The town is totally deserted, only sirens of ambulance vehicles can be heard.

At precisely 1214 [1014 GMT] today several consecutive detonations, that is, at least four, took place in Zagreb. A few moments later an alarm was sounded, first an air raid alarm and then a general danger. It is impossible to say at the moment what happened. We will have to wait for official reports. It is also impossible to say in which part of the town the detonations occurred and whether this involved a rocket attack, shelling, or something else.

It is likely that the town center came under attack again where thick black smoke is rising. [passage omitted]

Shelling Shows Serb 'Confusion'

LD0305113995 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Shortly after 1200 [1000 GMT], Serb terrorists again fired projectiles on Zagreb. According to initial, unofficial reports, six projectiles landed on the wider area of the city. Civilian facilities again came under attack. Details of possible casualties are being collated at present.

Since 1210, a general alert has been in force in Zagreb, the information headquarters has announced.

This latest terrorist attack on Zagreb shows that complete confusion and disarray is reigning among the Serb extremists' ranks on the temporarily occupied Croatian state territory. It is evident that there is no coordination between their political leaders and the so-called army. The army and its top leadership is divided into reasonable and unreasonable officers. The most extreme examples are Celeketic and Loncar, who are known to have ordered the shelling of the Croatian capital on two occasions and other Croatian towns and villages. By this, they—together with their commander, Martic—have joined the ranks of the worst criminals not only of present times but also of recent European history, the Information Headquarters and the Political Department of the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Croatia says.

Unofficial Report: 10 Wounded

LD0305120395 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to initial, unofficial reports, about 10 people were wounded in the attack on

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Zagreb. We are calling on the citizens of Zagreb not to go out and touch unknown objects until civil defense officials have collected them.

Owen Views Croatian Withdrawal Prospects

MS0305093295 London ITV Television Network in English 1800 GMT 2 May 95

[Interview with Lord David Owen, EU envoy to former Yugoslavia, by presenter Jon Snow on 2 May; place and date of interview not given; from the "Channel Four" newscast—recorded]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Snow] What is your reading of the situation in Croatia?

[Owen] There is a big argument going on about whether or not the Croatian forces will withdraw. they will obviously only withdraw if there is an agreement on a new regime to ensure true, free movement on the Zagreb-Belgrade road in this area which is being controlled by the Serbs. I don't think there is a problem in getting that agreement, but I personally think it will be very difficult to get them to withdraw. They were meant to meet today at the airport outside Zagreb at [Pleso]. Mr Akashi, the UN special representative, had hoped to get Croatian Serbs and the Croatian Government, he has not been able to, and I think the hard thing is getting the Croatian Government to pull right back and not to sit on territory that they have aquired from the western sector. Now I mean, what is this territory, of course it's part of Croatia, but it's also part of territory which was located with the Serbs as a result of the cease-fire agreement, it's behind the confrontation line. The real problem is that the Croatian Government gave very clear assurances to all of us, but particularly to the United States and to Germany that they would not use the reduction of UN forces and the new mandate as a signal to take offensive action, and here they have taken a very serious offensive, it's not just police, this is a big military operation.

[Snow] Is there going to be a consequence if withdrawal doesn't happen because there hasn't been in the past?

[Owen] The European Union has always been unable to agree a strategy of real pressure on the Croatian Government, there is for somewhat understandable reasons, but it is a weakness of our posture, and it will have to be addressed in this particular question. I think it would be much better frankly to have pressure applied in a meaningful way by governments close to them rather than have to go through the whole issue of UN sanctions, which I frankly don't think we'll do, but there will be views expressed on this. What you need now is quick decisive action and if you don't take that action, then we could be into a very nasty mess. We could have the Bosnian Serbs and the Croatian Serbs coming together, and we could have a fairly widespread battle. At the moment it's been reasonably contained. There have been the explosions in Zagreb and in Dubrovnic, but we haven't seen fighting right across the confrontation line.

[Snow] What's your reading of what we're looking at, the beginning of something unpleasant and much bigger, or simply a blip that the Croats hope to get away with?

[Owen] I think it's the latter, I think the Croats have always resented, and perfectly understandibly that their main road from Zagreb to Belgrade has this 45 kilometer section in which the Serbs have had control. It has always been envisaged that in any negotiation it's the first area that would have to go back to the Croatian Government control, and a year and a half ago there was almost a belief that it could be done through negotiations, and then there are the local Serbs hardened up their position. The local Serbs have provoked quite a lot of this, they are not angels, but this is a massive response quite out of proportion to the offense of the local Croatian Serbs.

Ambassador to UN Says No to Withdrawal

MS0305110295 London ITV Television Network in English 1800 GMT 2 May 95

[Interview with Mario Nobilo, ambassador to UN, by presenter Jon Snow; Nobilo in New York, Snow in London; for the "Channel Four" newscasts—live]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ambassador are you going to withdraw from this territory?

[Nobilo] No we are not going to withdraw from this territory, this is Croatian territory. We have been patient for four years waiting to see the highway reopened. It was briefly opened for a couple of months and then civilians had been killed in random shooting on the highway. However, we would cooperate to easing the tensions in the sector, and have the local population to reintegrate in the rest of Croatia. We are not going to give back the highway under the control of the Serbs or the UN because that would be...

[Snow, interrupting] Let me just stop you there because Lord Owen say's you gave a very very clear undertaking repeatly that you wouldn't do what you've done?

[Nobilo] Well of course everybody was surprised by the course of events in the last few days, and certainly it was not the intention of my Government to get involved so deeply into Sector West when everything looks pretty good in that area with the highway open and all that...

[Snow, interrupting] You also had Malcolm Rifkind, the British Defense Secretary, saying this is no small police incident, as you have argued, this is a major military operation and it's quite clear that you have a very big ambition in that particular sector, and that you're there to stay?

[Nobilo] Well we are there to stay, that's for sure, but it has to be a [word indistinct] operation to be smooth and quick, and to avoid major dragging out of the conflict

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which would cost civilians lives. This was a very successful operation, we have established what [Ankara] in the new mandate failed to do, and that is the safety on the highway...

[Snow, interrupting] But forgive me, surely no operation that ends in five people dead and 120 people wounded today, as a result of Serb retaliation, is a success, surely?

[Nobilo] Well certainly there is no justifications for Serbian retaliations on the civilian targets all over Croatia from Dubrovnic by the Bosnian Serbs, and now to the capital of Zagreb because of the military action and police action on the highway proper. There is no justification for that, and many foreign ministers in Europe have condemned that with those words.

[Snow] Well now, Ambassador, it's just come up now, its just flashed from REUTERS that the United States Government is also calling for you to withdraw from the enclave, but you will repeat again that that is absolutely out of the question?

[Nobilo] You see, I mean we have a very similar situation in (word indistinct) bridge where Croatian cause was split in two by the Serbian aggression in the area, and we have just the same. We were required to withdraw and give the bridge area back to the Serbian control which we cannot afford, and since then the traffic had normalized for the last year and a half, and it is going smoothly through the area. It is going to be the same with the highway...

[Snow, interrupting] Except that in this instance there really does seem, in the aftermath of the breakdown of the cease-fire in the region, there really does seem to be the danger that this could trigger a Croat-Serb war?

[Nobilo] Well I believe that the UN should be more concerned that the Croatian Serbs are attacking the Bihac encave in Bosnia using even the airfield in Udbina in Croatia under their control, which was bombed by NATO for the same reasons. They should be more concerned about the bombardment of the Serb area of Sarajovo, and certainly Croatia would now work on easing of the tensions. However, we are not the only side, if the other side wants to escalate that might happen. My impression is that this would not escalate to a major conflict in Croatia.

[Snow] Let's hope your right Ambassador, thank you for joining us.

Pakrac Quiet; Serbs Retreat to Mt. Psunj

LD0305104895 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Pakrac area is quiet and stable. This morning passed quietly and without gunfire. Ana Mudric reports from Pakrac:

[Mudric] The Pakrac and Lipik area had a quiet night. This morning has seen no changes. Croatian police are taking full control across the liberated area. In the words of Nikola Skanac, the commander of the Pakrac police station, routine police operations are being carried out. Several new outposts of the Pakrac police station are being opened in the liberated area.

The Serb population has been given full guarantees for their safety and property. In the Begovaca area, sporadic explosions can still be heard today. Some of the rebel Serbs who do not heed the agreement reached have retreated deeper into Mt. Psunj and are still attacking our forces. Hence, an operation is underway to neutralize them.

RSK Leaders Contact Akashi on Western Slavonia

LD0305090595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0020 GMT 3 May 95

[Received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 3 May (SRNA)—Last night the Supreme Defense Council of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] discussed a draft cease-fire agreement on Western Slavonia that was presented to the RSK and Croatia by Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary-general's special envoy for the former Yugoslavia.

SRNA has learned from the office of RSK President Milan Martic that throughout the session the members of the Supreme Defense Council of Krajina were in constant contact with Akashi, informing him about their criticism of the draft agreement.

According to the same source, Akashi's draft suggests a cease-fire to go into effect by 2200 [2000 GMT] on 2 May, opening the Pakrac-Okucani-Stara Gradiska road by 2400 on 2 May, and withdrawing all military formations to their initial positions by 2200 on 3 May.

A SRNA reporter has been told over the phone by President Martic's office that the Supreme Defense Council is expected to issue a statement on this matter this morning. It has also been confirmed that contacts with Akashi will continue today. The Supreme Defense Council and the RSK government have been constantly in session since Monday because of the Croatian Army's aggression against Western Slavonia.

Babic Appeals to Butrus-Ghali To Stop 'Massacre'

AU0305102395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0132 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 3 May (TANJUG)—Milan Babic, foreign minister of the republic of Serb Krajina early on Wednesday [3 May] sent a letter to Butrus-Butrus Ghali, in which he appealed to the UN secretary general to use his authority to stop the Croatian Army massacre of the Serbian civilian population in Western Slavonia, the ISKRA news agency has reported.

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"In the course of the aggression carried out by the Croatian Army on 1 and 2 May in the UN Protected Area Sector South, the members of the Croatian Armed Forces killed some 400 Serbian civilians, while over 6,000 Serbian civilians have fled to the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina," the letter claims.

Babic has informed the UN secretary general that the Croatian Army on 2 May encircled 6,000 Serbian civilians in the region of Pakrac, and at nightfall launched a massive artillery and infantry attack on them.

The republic of Serbian Krajina foreign minister demands in his letter that Butrus-Ghali do everything in his power "to stop the Croatian Army and prevent the massacre of the Serbian population."

Krajina Official: 400 Serb Civilians Killed

LD0205230995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2234 GMT 2 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 2 May (TANJUG)—Drago Kovacevic, minister of information of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] stated for TANJUG this evening that the RSK government was in possession of reliable reports that in the course of the two-day aggression on Western Slavonia, the Croatian Army killed around 400 Serb civilians, including 200 people in a single column of refugees between Pakrac and Okucani.

According to him, this refugee column mainly included old men, women, and children. The massacre took place around 1400 on 2 May. Kovacevic warned of the danger to which around 6,000 civilians are exposed, as they are encircled by the Croat forces in the region of Pakrac.

According to reports in possession of the RSK government, an all-out artillery and infantry attack by the Croatian forces on these Serb civilians began early this evening.

The Croatian side has rejected a proposal by Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy for former Yugoslavia, to sign an agreement on the cessation of hostilities this evening because it is intending to carry out a massacre over the remaining Serb population in Western Slavonia tonight, Kovacevic stressed.

'Rivers of Refugees' Flee Western Slavonia

AU0205210895 Knin Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 May 95

[Report by Banja Luka Television correspondent Rade Malesevic—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian units continue to attack Western Slavonia from all directions, not sparing a single village. The ustashas are arriving in Western Slavonia, and people are fleeing from the territory, taken by surprise. There are many wounded and dead civilians. The communication route between Stara Gradiska and Okucani has been cut off, so we do not know what has happened to those people who were not able to evacuate last night and today. Rivers of refugees are heading toward Levce Polje. Those unfortunates are occupying schools and other large buildings. Stara Gradiska and the bridge across the Sava River is being shelled as we speak. All our efforts are aimed at saving as many civilians from the Ustashas.

UN Reports Peacekeepers Seized by Serbs Freed

AU0305083395 Paris AFP in English 0810 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, May 3 (AFP)—All 122 UN peacekeepers seized by separatist Serbs in fighting in eastern Croatia have been freed, a UN spokesman announced here Wednesday [3 May].

The spokesman said that the peacekeepers, seized by the Serbs Monday in retaliation for the Croat offensive launched against their territory, were freed Tuesday. He added that some 600 separatists trapped in the town of Pakrac had accepted to surrender under supervision of UN troops in the next five days. The weapons will be handed over to the UN troops.

Croatia called off its offensive against the separatists Tuesday after a 48-hour surgical operation that won control of a key highway in Serb-controlled territory in Western Slavonia, which is in eastern Croatia.

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Commentary Examines Unity of Albanian Parties

AU0305095395 Skopje PULS in Macedonian 28 Apr 95 pp 14-15

[Commentary by Mirce Tomovski: "Painful Reality or Real Pain"]

[FBIS Translated Text] With the latest Tetovo protest, most of the ethnic Albanian parties in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] have again tried to demonstrate the unity of "all Albanians in Macedonia." The stereotype protest has in fact become a matter of course in the Macedonian democratic landscape. There are two familiar types: social and ethnic. The ethnic Albanian parties use the ethnic variety and do not protest the social aspects because the Albanian population is allegedly on the periphery of the economy and social protection in the state. They are entitled to this ideological explanation, even without real arguments, particularly regarding the ethnic structure of the social scene in Macedonia, because party ideology requires every action to be politically determined. In any event, the Tetovo protest shows both the unity and segmentation of the "Albanian political subject."

The Tetovo company Thaci-Xhaferri [Arber Xhaferri is chairman of the breakaway Tetovo Party for Democratic Prosperity, PDP, and Mendu Thaci deputy chairman] has in the end formed a special political party, which is now the third PDP in Macedonia: there is the PDP headed by Abdurahman Aliti, or the founder of the Albanian political organization; the PDP of Albanians in Macedonia, founded by the "young lions" Mendu Thaci and Arber Xhaferri; and the PDP headed by the former leader of the first PDP Nevzat Halili.

The People's Democratic Party was considered to be the most difficult in relation to the question of unity. The party was mainly built on a national extreme contrary to the "Albanian national interests." The banning of Mersel Bilali and Abduladi Vejseli when they became independent members of parliament was one of the signs of internal party divisions. Such a thing would not be dramatic for a normal democratic party. But for an ideological base founded on an ethnic extreme and constant political tension, it represents excitement of first degree, because it has not been understood that the national theme is all the more exhausted as a subject of political engagement. In order to keep it, there is a simple logic—it is necessary to go to even greater extremes and aggressiveness.

The PDP and its present leader, Abdurahman Aliti, are in the center of the political game—to judge by party membership, members of parliament, and ministers in government. However, their strict control over matters makes them appear to be either anti-Albanian or anti-democratic. Excuses such as "we support the protest and Tetovo university"—and then their absence from the Tetovo protest in exchange for a "struggle for the university inside the institutions of the system" simply places them in the political border area of cheap demagogy. In the meantime, in a move reminiscent of bolshevik campaigns, they ask Minister of Culture Estref Aliu, one of the PDP's ablest members, to resign. The reason is that they do not like his views on Tetovo University because they are contrary to the party's views. By doing this they show a lack of respect for personal principles and are placing freedom of thinking, alternative ideas, and different opinions "out of order"—all in the name of "higher goals."

The Albanian Democratic Alliance-Liberal Party was missing from the euphoric atmosphere of protest, as was the Union of Intellectuals. These two political groups are home to an important spiritual and intellectual authority among the Albanians in Macedonia, and they, after all, do not consider the further politicization of education and protest as intellectually purposeful, either for themselves or the problems.

Regardless of whether it is seen as a family argument or a logical development of events, this colorful map of the Albanian political landscape in Macedonia represents reality. Any attempt to apply strict party and ideological standards to it becomes the thesis by which the "leading forces in the state emphasize ethnic issues and tension at the expense of the serious social and economic problems." In the days preceding the protest in Tetovo the Albanian and British ambassadors, and the representatives of the OSCE mission became close on the issue of the education of ALBANIANS [preceding word in capital letters].... Of course, at that time nothing was heresy. However, the theses were simply intermingled. It is precisely by emphasizing interethnic problems and the tension associated with them that a situation is created that exhausts the total political and state energy, causing the central issue—the economic and social foundations of the state—to be neglected. Regarding inequality and dissatisfaction from a political viewpoint, this interrelates with the general economic and social situation, which is what determines the way we all live, regardless of ethnic or religious affiliation. This is even more the case, because in the fierce radical economic changes and processes of privatization we can spot the beginnings of economic revitalization on new foundations in the state. It impacts on all the other relations, including ethnic relations.

At the same time, although it is insisted that the problems of education be dealt with in a democratic way and tolerant atmosphere, an encirclement is being created for exerting pressure on the court in Tetovo. Showing inflexibility, of course, is the worst way to solve any problem, including education. This situation was created by moving away from the constitutional framework and entering the sphere of tense politicization. However, here comes the familiar trap. It shows equally inflexibility to exert pressure on the judicial authorities. It has even been announced that the party leaders will remain

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permanently in court during the trial! Of course, everybody has the right to attend a public trial. Nevertheless, if they decide to do so, they run the risk that the trial will become politicized.

According to information on the case against Fadil Sulejmani, attention has been particularly attracted by the fact that a dozen journalists from various media, including NOVA MAKEDONIJA, have been invited to court. The reason is their professional activity regarding events in Mala Recica, either in taking interviews or reporting on "the spot." This is not only contrary to the work of a court but it also extracts the journalists from their institution, their social and professional position, and imperils freedom of the press.

Party ideologies have only one principle—to shape or twist the world and ideas. Unadapted ideology shows events in illusions. In such a contradiction the victims are ordinary Albanians, as well as all citizens faced with our modern times. The Albanians are extracted from their constitutional position as citizens and are thrust into the politicization of ethnic affiliation. There is actual pressure to equate party-ideological determinations with the people's aspirations in order to involve them in equating false and real ideas. The parties suffer from these "sicknesses." The new magic of attraction is sought in the unity and homogenization on known grounds—"All the Albanians on one Place." Why and against whom? A euphoric ethnic premise was found for the protest: All Albanians are on trial in Tetovo! This is simply further confirmation that the parties' ideas exceed the bounds of reality. In spite of efforts to create reality "by one's own standards" reality becomes an illusion. The deeper its penetration, the greater the pain. The party ideologists may even accuse reality of cheating, without asking themselves why and where were they cheated. The drama will appear when nationalism starts losing. Then they will also have to lose.

Albanians Hold 'Huge' Protest Rally

AU0205141295 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 27 Apr 95 p 3

[Article by "I.A.": "Against the Trial of Albanian Ideals of Education"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tetova, 26 Apr—Coordinated by Albanian political organizations and the Albanian Women's League of Macedonia [Lidhje e Grave Shqiptare te Maqedonise, LGSHM], a huge popular protest rally against the trial of Fadil Sylejmani and Milaim Feiziu, against police violence, and for peace and equality was held in the main square of Tetova at 1200 [1000 GMT] today. More than 50,000 people from all parts of the commune took part. A big placard reading "free our brothers" and "peace be with you, martyrs of the nation," with the names of those who have died at the hands of the police and of Albanian political prisoners, was placed above the dais accommodating representatives of the Albanian political parties and the LGSHM. Among the assembled crowds shouting "freedom, equality," "Fadil, we are with you," and "we want schools, not police," there were also many other placards reading "the university will survive," "free all political prisoners," "free Fadil Sylejmani," "University—The Albanians' Demand," and with many other slogans. Representatives of international organizations and many journalists also watched the rally. The Albanians' one-hour protest rally passed without incident.

The first to speak at this rally, at which police reinforcements were not in evidence, was actor Xhevad Limani. Turning to the crowds chanting "Fadil, Fadil," he said, "You here today are the courtroom of the people and their expression of freedom—not those in the courtroom of the administration, which is trampling on human liberty." He called on everybody present to observe one minute's silence in honor of Abdulselami, Arisi, Nuredini, and others. He then appealed for the release of our brothers, who have consciously accepted the role of victims for the sake of the prosperity of the Albanian cause: We greet Messrs. Fadil Sylejmani, Milaim Feiziu, Mithat Emini, Hasan, Musli, Abedin, Arben, Eugen, Burim, Hasip, Refet, Selami, Esmi, Shemsi, Kemal, and Abdylselam, and all others in prison. Limani continued: "I accept your applauseas a powerful fist raised against injustice and a bogus show trial."

Administrative Obstacles Will Not Stop the University

Myqerreme Rusi, chairwoman of the LGSHM, spoke to the crowds and said that the age-old aspirations of our people are tied to the university. "This university will survive, despite the bureaucratic, institutional, and legal obstacles raised by those who during our common history and still today have not advanced the cause of justice and equality among peoples. The long-suffering Albanian people have an unhappy history; let us therefore strive to improve this history by educating the younger generations. We Albanian women and others are concerned for the fate of our children. We have peacefully assembled here today to express our protest against the imprisonment of Dr. Fadil Sylejmani, Milaim Feiziu, and others, the activists of the university. We vigorously demand their release and the incorporation of the University of Tetova in the educational system of this republic. This university will be the road of progress for everybody."

Arber Xhaferi, chairman of the Party of Democratic Prosperity [PDP], said at the start of his speech that not Fadil but all of us are on trial today. "Both Fadil and the University of Tetova will be freed. Those who think that they are today putting on trial Fadil Sylejmani, the rector of the University of Tetova; and Milaim Fejziu, chairman of the Forum for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms, are in fact in the most brutal fashion challenging the freedom, feelings, and dignity of the Albanian people, exhibiting anti-Albanianism in its most extreme form, and showing that they are against plans to educate the Albanians.

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"They have today declared war on the progress of the Albanians and are once again provoking our tolerance and our policy of peace. These public prosecutors, out of touch with time and space, have in their foolishness barricaded Macedonia with their obsolete ideas. We tell them that we are not afraid; on the contrary, we have never been so confident of our prospects and our potential. We have declared ourselves in favor of peace out of a conviction that our future lies in the civilized world, in the world of the rights and freedoms of human beings and their communities. This conspiracy of moldy cabinet-rooms will not divert us from our path. We have finally become our own masters.

"Brothers and sisters, it is not the honored Fadil Sylejmani and Milaim Feiziu who are being put on trial today, but the Albanian idea and its fastest possible realization. However, only fools imagine that ideas and ideals can be put in prison, for they are beyond their control. We today are demonstrating our dissatisfaction at the authorities that are judging the Albanian ideas personified in Fadil and Milaim.

"We, who deeply respect their own ideas, their history, and their future, send them the important message that their development does not depend on our decline. Only a future for all communities can assure peace and progress. We tell them candidly that we have never contrived secret plans against them, but have plans only for our own prosperity. Those who were bold enough to put on trial the representatives of the Albanian people are provoking interethnic friction. We are showing them today that we are not ready to cooperate against our own interests. The representatives of Macedonian policies will leave behind them a list of unsolved problems and a burdensome legacy of hostility. We also today ask the international community not to pay any attention to the advance guards of Macedonian nationalism and exclusiveness. They are present today in order to support the status quo; any situation that depends on a balance of forces is temporary.

"To those bold enough to put on trial the representatives of Albanian education, we raise our voices and say: Hands off Fadil, Milaim, Nevzat, Musli, Arben, and others! Free them and free yourselves from crime and nationalist fervor. Do not proclaim Fadil and his friends to be enemies. You cannot defeat them: the people are determined of that," Xhaferi concluded.

Violence, However Severe, Will Be Overcome

Beredin Ibrahimi, secretary of the Popular Democratic Party, said: "We have gathered here today to express our revulsion and discontent at violence. The democratic processes in this region have not brought anything for the Albanians. On the contrary, their legal and political status has worsened, and their national rights have been squeezed to a minimum. The regime both yesterday and today has been the generator of the crisis. In order to cover up its inability to solve political, economic, and social problems, it has been staging situations of conflict, concocting scandals, and mounting political show trials, seeking to portray the Albanian people of Macedonia as an element of instability and to justify police violence used against them. They have not put Fadil Sylejmani and Milaim Feiziu but Albanian education in the dock today. We have assembled here to call for an end to these show trials and to demand the unconditional release of Fadil Sylejmani, rector of the University of Tetova, and Milaim Feiziu, chairman of the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms, besides all others waiting to go on trial. We send to the Macedonian people the message not to be frightened of the Albanians' education. It does not jeopardize Macedonia, but on the contrary opens the doors for Macedonia's entry into the family of European states. We also send a message to the public both at home and abroad that Macedonia has no prospects unless it guarantees the Albanians' rights. [no ending quotation marks as published]

On behalf of the PAD-RRI [expansion unknown], party chairman Kenan Mazllami said that we are showing here today that we are united on our essential issues, especially education. The right to education is like a flowing river. Nobody can stop the stream, but only dam it temporarily. For us, education is something sacred and is the future and salvation of our people. We will not allow our children to wander the streets and to become the targets of degenerates. Justice will be achieved, with whatever difficulty, while violence, however harsh and severe, will be overcome, Mazllami said.

Zejnulla Selimi, speaking on behalf of the PPD-PUP [expansion unknown] and of Nevzat Halili, after criticizing the present Constitution of Macedonia that has made the Albanians second-class citizens, pointed out that the University of Tetova had been attacked in a shameful fashion, using police forces and the methods of the middle ages. Faculty premises had been demolished. Abdylselami was killed and others were wounded. Instead of punishing the murderers, the state is imprisoning and putting on trial the rector of the university, who has commited himself to a noble idea in a democratic and humane fashion. It has imprisoned Milaim Feiziu and Nevzat Halili, chairman of the PDP-PUP, at a time when, alongside representatives of other political parties, he was preparing to go to President Gligorov for talks. In stead of dialogue, the state offered violence, solely because Nevzat Halili used his authority to help to avert a conflict with unforeseeable consequences. The University of Tetova is a reality. It is working, and there is no force that can stop it, Selimi concluded.

After these speeches and an appeal from PDP Chairman Arber Xhaferi for the assembled crowds to disperse calmly and without causing any incidents, the huge protest rally came to an end.

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Police Kill Albanian Trader in Border Area

95P20757A Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 18 Apr 95 p 2

[Article by N. Spahiu: "An Incident That Saddens Civilized Consciences"]

[FBIS Translated Text] An unexpected and undesired incident happened on the night of 14 to 15 April on the border between Albania and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]—or, as the residents of this area call it, the border between Debar [in the FYROM] and Diber [in Albania]. The victim was Mazllum Tafciu, a 19-year-old youth from the village of Klobocishte (in the Republic of Albania), one of the villages closest to the border. The killing of this young man saddens civilized consciences on both sides of the border. Such an act is not in accord with the official statements of the top leaders of the two neighboring states on the establishment of good and all-inclusive relations.

The incident, which took place on Friday at 2018 hours (according to Albanian sources) or, according to official sources here, at 2010 hours, sensitized public opinion on both sides of the border. A wide variety of versions are being heard now. Some people are saying that Bashkim Tafciu's killing was premeditated. A person from the same village as Bashkim, who does not wish to be identified to the media, told us that he witnessed the incident. Some people are saying that the security organs were informed about the movements of a group of clandestine traders, of which Bashkim was a member. Others are saying that the killing of this youth was a result of clashes inside the border at Livadhet e Xhamise in the village of Ame te Dibres [Albanian spelling]...We did not take account of all these things in our investigation in order to note something that is a reality: the fact that, except for the information leaked, no official report has been given by the Ministry of Interior in Debar, on the pretext that only those persons who are declared experts and who carry out investigations in the place where the victim was killed should be privy to such information.

The following is the official version of the Ministry of Interior of Macedonia: "On 14 April 1995, at 2010 hours, in the locality of Banjisko Polje, on the basis of advance information on illegal activities in this place obtained by two-man police patrol units, a trap was set to apprehend persons who cross the state border illegally and carry on illegal activities. About 700 meters from the border with Albania, one person was killed by the police patrol during clashes with a group from Albania who illegally crossed the border..." [ellipses as published]

The question is: how could this incident have been avoided? Logic makes one think that although the incident happened inside our territory, at a rather great distance from the border; and, in particular, since the security patrol organs had advance notice—at least this is what the report says—it is all the more serious since it is known that all this is taking place because of the severe customs sanctions on the legal crossing of the border. While not justifying the clandestine trading activity of the persons who came from the other side, this makes you doubt the good intentions [of the police], especially when it is known that this is done because of the heavy customs sanctions levied against those who cross the border legally. They do this out of economic need, which compels such individuals to take uncertain steps for which they pay with their lives.

On the other hand, there was no comment in the Albanian media, except for informing their people that on 14 April at 2018 hours, young Bashkim Tafciu, from the village of Kllobocishte, was shot and killed by the Macedonian police, and that it is being determined whether the deceased illegally crossed the Albanian-Macedonian border for the purpose of selling the food articles found at the site of the incident. The Albanian Ministry of Interior said that this was a criminal act committed by the Macedonian police forces that has the negative effect of increasing tensions between the two neighboring peoples, with the expected results.

It is an undeniable fact that, recently, visits of relatives, especially residents of Diber—or Debar—have become less frequent. Ordinary people have "solved" the problem: They are crossing the border illegally. They do not pay taxes. Unfortunately, however, it often happens that all Albanians across the border pay for this dearly. All these measures—especially the customs regulations—are hardly necessary for the residents of the border zone; the residents of two neighboring cities like Debar and Peshkopi, who greeted the collapse of the "Diber-Debar Berlin wall" with the hope that the opening up of this border would create great prospects for the comprehensive development of this region, which experienced the evil and the misfortune brought about by this unprecedented "hermeticum" in the middle of old Europe.

It would be good for the governments of the two countries to state once and for all their support for an open policy and for all-inclusive neighborly relations, and to settle all problems connected with the things that have been happening at this border. The best way to do this would be to make it easier to cross borders, which would express the common interests of both Macedonia and Albania.

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Federal

Leaders 'Most Harshly Condemn' Croatian Attack

AU0305113595 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia most harshly condemns the crude act of aggression by the Republic of Croatia and advocates that the sides in the conflict and the responsible international factors make possible the cessation of war activities, stop the suffering and distress of the population, and the return to the scene of the peace processes as the only reasonable way to overcome the crisis. This was pointed out at last night's meeting of the presidents of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Montenegro—Zoran Lilic, Slobodan Milosevic, and Momir Bulatovic respectively; Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic; federal ministers of foreign affairs and defense, Vladislav Jovanovic and Pavle Bulatovic respectively; and Colonel General Momcilo Perisic, chief of General Staff of the Yugoslav Army.

Serbia

Radio Reports Volunteers Leaving for RSK

AU0205083795 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 1 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Unidentified correspondent] I am reporting from Belgrade, and I have with me a representative of the officials of the Operational Headquarters for the Defense of the RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina], Colonel Milivojevic, who is originally from Krajina.

Serbian volunteers, having learned this morning about the Ustasha aggression against the RSK, which was in no way provoked, reacted immediately, and, since we were prepared, [words indistinct], and we have over 1,500 [words indistinct]. Many of them have already taken buses and left in that direction.

The Serbian volunteers that protected the RSK and prevented the genocide of the Serb people in 1991 will not allow anyone to play around now, and they are determined to help in whatever way the Army of the RSK and its Headquarters demand, immediately. At the same time, we have a large number of groups prepared that [words indistinct] that the activities immediately transfer to the Ustasha territory. We have suffered long enough, and now it is time to see their backs, since that is what they are asking for. Therefore, Serbia is with the Krajina; Serbia will defend it. The Serbian volunteers are the striking power, and those who risked their lives in 1991 will do the same now and will prevent any further Ustasha activity in any of the areas.

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